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L.H. 1829

POPERY UNMASKED,

AND HER

SUPPORTERS EXPOSED,

IN

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE POPISH MEETING,

HELD AT LEEDS, DECEMBER 5, 1828,

WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE

ROMAN CANON LAW,

THE

REV. DR. PHILLPOTTS' LETTER TO C. BUTLER,

&c. &c.

BY. WM. ATKINSON, LEEDS.

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—
1829.

373.



TO THE

PROTESTANTS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

THE FOLLOWING

SPEECHES, EXTRACTS, AND OBSERVATIONS,

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THEIR ZEALOUS FRIEND AND SERVANT,

W. ATKINSON.

THE SPEECH
OF
MR. ALDERMAN HALL.

[Mr. ALDERMAN HALL came forward, but it was some time before he was able to proceed, owing to the tumultuous applause from the Protestants, and the yells from the Popish party. At length he commenced speaking, but was almost inaudible, except to those by whom he was immediately surrounded, on account of the determined yell which was kept up by the Papists under the hustings.]

The worthy Alderman spoke as follows:—"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—It is with feelings of extreme pain that I meet my fellow-townsmen on the present occasion, because, Sir, when I read over the names of the requisitors—when I look at the respectable gentlemen who are now arrayed in the support of the object of the meeting, I perceive that they are the same parties to whom we have been opposed on all former occasions, when the people have deemed it necessary to come forward in defence of their constitutional privileges. I am, therefore, compelled to draw the painful conclusion, that the removal of the great barrier, heretofore dividing his Majesty's Protestant subjects, has not had the desired effect. (*A loud laugh from Mr. Baines, who cried out "Ha, ha, ha!—That's a good one!"*) When this untimely interruption would allow him to proceed, Mr. Hall continued.—I say I cannot but express my regret, that the removal of that barrier has not had the effect of uniting them in closer bonds of

political union, and of engaging the whole Protestant community in the protection of their common interests. (*Loud laughter from Messrs. Baines, Scales, and Hutton, with cheering from the Protestant side, and disapprobation from the liberals.*) I beg not to be considered as including the whole body of Dissenters in an undistinguished mass, for I am glad to say there are not a few, but numbers of them, who, either agreeing with us in opinion, or from motives of gratitude for the distinguished favour which has placed them in a state of complete political equality, or from a conviction that their civil and religious liberties can only be secure by an adherence to certain fixed principles of government—all inspired by the same free spirit of Protestantism;—(*Cheers from the Protestants*)—there are numbers of them, I say, who refuse to be parties to the ill-judged measure adopted by the requisitors. (*Disapprobation from the liberals.*) I wish other gentlemen had been influenced by similar views.—(*Laughter from Mr. Baines.*) Let me tell you, then, when we consider the unnatural alliance which they have formed at this particular juncture, we cannot help inferring that there is still some uneasiness on their minds—some notion that our political constitution requires a further purge,—in short, that they do not join us heart and hand in support of the established order of government. (*Shouts from the Papists of “No, we never will, till we get our rights.”*) Be this as it may, the expression of opinions on doubtful measures of policy, by an Address to the Throne, appears to me highly injudicious and indelicate. (*Laughter from Messrs. Baines, &c.*) I think the Hon. Member of Parliament in the chair will agree with me on this point. (*Cries from the hustings, of “No, no, he does not.”*) Addresses to the King are only proper on subjects of congratulation, on which there is no difference of opinion.—(*Cheers from the Protestants.*)—Petition is the other mode of subjects approaching their Sovereign; but this is only to be resorted to on occasions of

high import, and it is necessary that the prayer be substantially set forth with the grounds on which it is preferred: but to make a professedly loyal address the vehicle of mere opinions of a part of his Majesty's subjects, to call forth a similar expression of the counter opinions of others which can be supported by irrefragable argument, and thus to distract the Royal mind, is to insult the Sovereign, without the hope of such address producing the intended effect.—(*Cheers and disapprobation.*)—Now, Sir, what has called for this very irregular mode of proceeding? I have heard no reason alleged but the provoking circumstance of a number of loyal Britons carrying their notions of loyalty to their King, and fidelity to the Constitution, a few degrees further than some people; and having learned that no treasures, and, above all, our constitutional blessings, can be protected by inactivity and security, have thought fit to form an association, which they call the “LEEDS BRUNSWICK CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION,”—(*Disapprobation and cheers*)—in maintenance of those blessings, which they think will be best effected, by opposing, by all constitutional means, the concession of further political power to the Roman Catholics. (*Tremendous cheers from the Protestants, which were loudly answered by the Popish party.*) Should the day arrive when the principles which actuate the members of this Association may be scouted—(*Cries of “They are scouted,” from the Papists*)—the glory of Britain will have passed away. For, what constitutes our greatness above other nations? It is not the exploits of our fleets and armies, though subjects of exultation to every true Briton, but it is the excellence of our institutions, civil and religious, which, by a nicely balanced form of government, secure to us, in an unparalleled degree, all the advantages which render society valuable. Such, then, is the Association which has frightened gentlemen from their propriety. (*Laughter from the Protestant part of the hustings.*) But was it needful to require the interposition of

the Sovereign to put down "a body so insignificant in point of number, so contemptible in point of property and respectability,"—(*Loud laughter from Messrs. Baines, Scales, and Hutton,*)—as has been represented? (*Cheers from the Protestants.*) Our opponents know very well how to get up counter declarations, and in this instance they might easily have out-numbered the Brunswickers, as in their case names were all that would be required; whereas the latter necessarily limit their body, by requiring a pecuniary payment on the admission of members.

Gentlemen,—There is a canon of ancient criticism which forbids the introduction of a deity into the scene, unless there be some difficulty which cannot be solved by ordinary means. The same may be well applied to the conduct of our opponents on this occasion in regard to the King: the machinery is too vast for the occasion; it is like erecting a steam-engine for work which would be better done by a pair of hands,—or employing a forge hammer to crush a fly. But gentlemen have discovered all at once, that clubs are a bad thing, and may be rendered instruments of evil. No further proof is required of this than the pestilent association which divides the rule with the government of Ireland, and which, I suppose, is to be allowed to dictate to us, and arbitrate on the Constitution of England. (*Cheers from the Protestant half of the hustings, which were followed by the crowd on the right.*) And who encourages the club system so much as some respectable individuals on the other side? I contend that the religious associations which are now so rife, and which have been productive, I doubt not, of much good—have led to the formation of political clubs. I am a member of societies of both descriptions, and with my eyes open to the possible dangers of the system; but allow me to observe, that if such associations are proper to promote the cause of religion, they are not to be greatly condemned when formed to promote the object next precious in our eyes, the preserva-

tion of our civil, or rather conjointly, of our civil and religious privileges. (*Cheers from the right, the people on the Popish side of the area shewing perpetual marks of disapprobation.*) We are accused also of thwarting the plans of Ministers, by people who, perhaps for the first time in their lives, are tender about their feelings—(*laughter*)—and offer them protection. I beg leave to tell those persons, that whilst we will support Ministers to the utmost in every legitimate exercise of their powers, no Minister of State, or Minister of religion either, shall cause us to swerve from those Protestant principles which are the stay of the Throne, the ground-work of the Constitution, and the essential safe-guard of our dearest interests. I have thought it necessary to say thus much in defence of our calumniated Brunswick Association.

Gentlemen,—Let us inquire next, if the parties who now propose to advise the Throne by insinuation are those on whose counsel the Sovereign would be disposed to rely.—They must recollect, that in addressing the King, they address a Monarch bound by the highest sanctions to defend the Protestant Constitution of these realms in Church and State. (*Cheers.*) Again, if you approach Parliament by petition, you find a Senate bound also to keep in view, in all its proceedings, the maintenance of the Protestant Establishment. The very bill, which has gone beyond all others in opening the door of office to the Roman Catholics, viz.—Sir Francis Burdett's Bill, proceeds upon this ground by declaring in the preamble, that the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the Protestant Church of Scotland, are permanently and inviolably established. Before we can be entitled to attention, we must prove, then, our attachment to, or at least declare our readiness to uphold such establishment. (*Cheering from the Protestants.*) This brings us to consider the relative situation in which the Protestants of this kingdom now stand, by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. Dissenters are placed in a state of complete

political equality with the members of the Established Church; has this great boon been attended by the desired effect of causing us to "think and feel alike concerning the common weal?" (*Disapprobation and cheers.*) I shall rejoice if the proceedings of this day produce this only good,—an understanding on this head. I will propose a few articles of which, in my judgment, an Englishman's creed ought to consist.—Loyalty to the King as our Supreme Governor;—Acquiescence in an Established Church, with perfect freedom to join in any other form of worship;—(*Cheers,*)—Obedience to the laws which are necessary for the preservation of our several interests, and a willing support of the several branches of government and authorities in the state. (*Continued cheering.*) I request gentlemen on the other side to correct me if I require too much at their hands; I know the qualms of some to acknowledge the Church in any degree. (*Disapprobation from the Papists.*) Individually I consider conformity with a true Established Church, a great duty. I ask not others to entertain the same high view, for that is a question of conscience with which I do not meddle, but I do ask them to assent to that Constitution of which the Church forms a part, if they believe religion to be a fit care of Government; if they confess, as I believe all do that, admitting an Established Church to be necessary, the Church of England is that Church which they would wish to see the dominant one. (*Disapprobation, with cries of "Let it be on an equality with others," &c.*) The Constitution in Church and State is one and indivisible; we cannot adhere to the latter and cast off the former. As we talk of the allegiance of the Roman Catholics being a divided allegiance, ours in this case would be a demi-allegiance. I must here guard myself from being misunderstood in speaking of the Constitution. We have not, as is the case in some other countries, a written constitutional code, but our institutions are so blended for the support of our civil and religious interests,

that they may, without impropriety, be expressed by the term Constitution in Church and State. It is necessary that the members of the State assent to its institutions; till we do this we are no citizens under the Constitution. (*Cheers and hisses.*) I say, then, that unless the Addressers prove their fitness to advise the Crown by an entire adhesion to the Constitution, they are not entitled to an hearing. (*Hisses from the Papists.*) I must also be allowed to observe, that the speedy forgetfulness of the benefits, recently conferred, will be a further drawback from the consideration which they hope will be given to their address; for if the ties of gratitude sit so loose upon Dissenters, with whom our points of difference are so trivial, what estimate is to be made of the fair promises of the Roman Catholics, with whom the grounds of difference are so large? It would also be necessary to shew to his Majesty, by just reason and fair conclusion, that no danger will attend the admission of the Roman Catholics to power. As history and experience, and the acknowledged tenets of their faith, are opposed to this view, mere unsubstantiated opinion will not avail; some wiseacres, to be sure, recommend that we should try them—(*Great disapprobation from the left*)—and if, according to the Roman Historian, we could afford experiment, and could trace back our steps, I would leave these worthies to “suffer the conviction of facts, since they despise our words,” but this may not be, and you will agree to the good homely proverb, “that it is too late to shut the stable door when the horse is stolen.” I think it is further incumbent on the Addressers to assure his Majesty, that should danger unhappily arise, they are ready to defend his Majesty and the Protestant Constitution in Church and State with all their might.—(*Great cheering from the Brunswickers, and a person on the right called out, in the Irish brogue, “We have done it before, and are ready to do it again.”*) The resolution is singularly defective in all these particulars, it professes loyalty indeed in common place terms,

which might be used to the veriest despotic monarch that ever reigned; it adverts also to the principles which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne, but it goes on to insinuate that those principles would not be shaken by a rooting up of those principles in the extension of civil rights to all classes without any regard to their religious opinions—(*Cheers from the left*)—and is it fit to lay before the throne matter like this, which appears to me to comprehend in it every anti-religious, every anti-social principle which distinguished the early Demagogues of the French Revolution?—(*Great cheering from the right*.) I think I am correct in asserting, that there is no such thing as civil rights, in the sense here put upon the term; there are natural rights, but all laws are restrictions on natural rights, and every civil society imposes such terms, as may appear advisable in limitation of civil power. If there is to be no regard to religious opinions, proclaim a new revolution at once, for the British Constitution cannot consist with such principles.—(*Disapprobation from the left*.) As to the belief that the measure would produce union, and that if carried into effect in due time, in favour of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, it would tend to secure harmony and peace in Ireland, and strength and stability to his Majesty's Government, it is not worth a straw, because unsubstantiated by any proof whatever.—(*Tremendous cheers from the right*.)—Gentlemen have no pretence to come before his Majesty with such an address as this; and if, contrary to my expectations, they are successful in carrying their resolution, I entreat them to pause before they offer a direct insult to our beloved Sovereign.—(*Tremendous uproar among the friends of Popery, in which the cries of "Question, question!" became loud*.)—But I have detained you long enough.—(*Cries of "Aye, sadly too long." "We are tired of hearing you," &c.*) Mr. Hall—(addressing the Popish side) "Then I'll give you a little more."—(*Great laughter and cheers from the Protestants, with cries of "Go on; go on."*)

My friend seems to think that the interests of Protestantism will be sufficiently protected by our being insured of a Protestant King; but what will become of the Monarch, when he is surrounded by a Roman Catholic Parliament, and by Roman Catholic counsellors?—(*Cheers and disapprobation.*) But I know that I am surrounded by a body of true Englishmen, who will not suffer their king to be so insulted.—Let not this disgrace pass upon our town—(*Cheers from the right,*)—be loyal to your King; be true to the Constitution; for, be assured, that your liberties, civil and religious, can only be secure under the protection of fixed laws: if left to that chance to which the Addressers would consign them, they will soon vanish; have pity on your Protestant fellow-subjects in Ireland: the evils of Popery, which we talk of and anticipate, they feel and experience; and, my dear fellow-townsmen, may the Almighty keep our good King, bless all his subjects, and preserve to your latest posterity the privileges you enjoy under our glorious Constitution.—The worthy Alderman concluded by moving, as an amendment—“That it is not proper to agree to the Resolution, or to vote for such an Address as has been proposed to this Meeting by Mr. Tottie,” and retired from the front of the hustings amidst the most tremendous cheers from the Protestant party, which were replied to by shouts of defiance from the Papists and friends of Popery.”

THE SPEECH
OF THE
REV. T. GALLAND, A.M.
MINISTER OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNEXION.

[The Rev. T. GALLAND, A.M. (Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion,) next presented himself to the meeting; but the confusion among the Papists and their adherents near the hustings, increased to such a degree as to beggar description. A number of voices were opened upon the speaker at the same instant, which were echoed by others in distant parts of the meeting, but in the general hurly-burly nothing was heard distinctly. For a space of twelve yards from the hustings, nothing was seen but a dense mass of human beings, crowding against each other, and wedged in, almost to suffocation. At the same time, the confusion was increased, if possible, by an attempt made by the Papists and their friends to "thrust out the Protestants," and spread themselves over the entire front; to which they were instigated by words and gestures from their leaders on the hustings. This notable expedient to make the Papists appear more numerous than they actually were, partially succeeded, for, while they extended over a larger space than they had done up to this moment, the friends of Protestantism were jammed into a smaller one, and thus became as dense a body of human beings as the mind can conceive. To give an account of the demonstration of feeling which took place among the people during the delivery of nearly the whole of Mr.

Galland's speech, is briefly to say, that the cheering on one side, and the most uproarious expressions of disapprobation on the other, were incessant; at the same time that the Rev. Speaker's voice was utterly inaudible to all, except a very few by whom he was surrounded on the hustings. We cannot, therefore, mark the "cheering," &c. which occurred in various parts of his speech, but shall not fail to notice some curious proceedings as they occurred, which took place on the platform during its delivery. Finding that an attentive and fair hearing to his remarks could not be obtained, Mr. G. proceeded to deliver his speech, more with the view of its obtaining circulation in the public journals, after being promulgated from the hustings, than under any idea that he could be heard, by even the smallest fraction of the immense multitude assembled.]

Mr. GALLAND spoke as follows.—“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—At the request of respectable gentlemen, and in conformity with my own deeply rooted and serious sentiments, I rise to second Mr. Hall's amendment, ‘That it is not proper to pass the Resolution and vote the Address to his Majesty, which has now been proposed.’ I am glad, Sir, that I do so on the present occasion, as a Christian Minister, not of the Established Church,—a church, however, which in many respects I highly venerate and greatly love. There can, therefore, be no imputation upon me as deriving certain exclusive honours and advantages—imputations frequently, and very improperly, cast upon those eminent Clergymen of the Church of England, who so ably stand forward in the support of existing Institutions. Thus, Sir, I have explained my reasons for coming forward at this time, and I am glad to meet so numerous an assemblage of my fellow-townsmen on this occasion. In my apprehension, it is a very solemn occasion, since we are met together to determine the question,

‘Whether or not an address shall be presented to his Majesty, tending to bring a new principle into the British Government, and to remove the most important safeguards of our civil and religious liberties.’—(*A person in the crowd, with the Irish brogue, “Is not your conference as bad as the Pope of Rome?”*) On these grounds, then, Sir, I feel the present occasion to be too solemn for the ebullitions of party violence, and the indulgence of angry feeling, by imputing improper motives to each other, on any side. Sorry, indeed, I am, to have observed very improper expressions in hand bills, circulated on this occasion, and proceeding from that press which claims especially to be devoted to the cause of liberty and conciliation amongst all classes of his Majesty’s subjects. I refer to the press of the *Leeds Mercury*.—(*Here Mr. Baines took his station near the speaker.*) A bill which I hold in my hand, and which has the signature of Mr. E. Baines, jun.—[*Here Mr. Baines, sen. advanced to his son, who was standing on the left side of the Chairman, in his capacity of reporter, and hastily twitching the sleeve of the latter said, “Adonis you are wanted.” Both those gentlemen then took a station near Mr. Galland, in order that they might hear more distinctly what was said,*—in which the numerous and respectable part of the community, who think with me on this momentous subject, are represented as exemplifying in their own conduct, “a spirit of furious intolerance—(*Hear, hear, from Mr. Baines, jun.*)—as stirring up the flames of fanaticism,” and “employing every art of fraud and falsehood.”—And this from a press *ostentatiously* devoted to the great cause of liberty and conciliation amongst all classes of his Majesty’s subjects.—I think it a piece of great effrontery in Mr. E. Baines, jun. to impute such motives and measures to those who do not think with him in politics, and to such imputations, not meaning, however, at all to reflect upon the personal character of that gentleman, I most directly and unequivocally give the lie. (*Mr. Baines, sen. with evident chagrin,*

"*Very charitable, indeed, for a christian pastor; Ha, ha, ha!*" The Rev. Dr. Hutton here reiterated, "*Very charitable indeed!*" Mr. Baines, jun. held his peace.) In another paper, also, issuing from the same press, and headed, "*Men of Leeds,*" the extracts from the notes of the Rhemish Testament, re-published in Dublin, by R. Coyne, A. D. 1816, &c. are denounced as "*a wicked calumny,*" taken from a spurious edition, which it has been insinuated, has been published by some violent Protestants, with a view to defame their Catholic brethren: and an appeal is made to "*A GENUINE EDITION,*" which was open for inspection at Mr. Baines's office. Now, Mr. Chairman, I stand here to avow my firm belief in the substantial accuracy of those notes, as quoted in the hand bill, from an edition having proper Roman Catholic authority; and also, in the most public manner, I declare from these hustings, that having inspected the New Testament, in Mr. Baines's shop, I find it to be no Edition at all of the *Rhemish Testament, with the notes*, but purporting merely to have the *Rhemish text*, in connection with *useful notes*, selected from various authors: one of them, by the way, *Jansenius*, who, every body knows, was not held in any very high estimation at the court of Rome, and having no proper Roman Catholic authority! So much for the *liberal press*, and the spirit of truth and conciliation manifested by the opposite party. (*Great cheering from the Protestants about the hustings.*) But it is time to proceed to the great question before us. I stand here, then, Mr. Chairman, as an ardent friend of civil and religious liberty, to second the amendment which Mr. Alderman Hall has so appropriately moved. I do so, on the ground that the Roman Catholic Religion contains leading principles, radically hostile to all rational liberty; and that the professors of this religion either, themselves, directly hold these tenets, or are so closely connected with, and so much under the influence of those who do maintain them, as to make it, in the highest degree,

unwise and inexpedient to entrust them with legislative power in a state like our's, founded on essentially Protestant principles, and standing pledged in the most binding manner, to preserve the Ascendancy of the Protestant religion. If this proposition be made out, then, Mr. Chairman, I hope to carry with me the present meeting in a rejection of the Address which has now been read. I feel, indeed, entitled on rational grounds, to expect that such will be the event of this day, as in this case, I am sure it ought.

It is stated, Sir, that when application was made to Queen Elizabeth on behalf of *four prisoners*, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, she wittingly remarked—" *Let us hear what the prisoners say for themselves.*" Thus I design that Roman Catholic writers should speak for themselves, in fair and apposite quotations from their ruling works in religion, as they have been taken by the ablest men of our nation, both Churchmen and Dissenters, to form the basis of their *strong conviction* respecting the true nature and genius of Popery.—From an host of illustrious names in the English Establishment, I shall select only one, Jeremy Taylor;—but seeing some of our dissenting brethren here present, as avowed supporters of the Address—[Here the speaker turned round, and requested to know if Messrs. Scales and Hamilton were on the platform, as he wished them to hear what he had to say. A general cry succeeded for those gentlemen to come forward, and the Rev. T. Scales took his station near Mr. Baines, but Mr. Hamilton kept more aloof.]—I shall be more copious in my reference to those distinguished Nonconformist writers, whose praise is, indeed, in all the churches, and who are justly placed in the first rank of the worthies of Britain.—How is it, that on this occasion, the mantle of *Baxter, Howe, and Owen*, should have devolved upon my shoulders, rather than upon those of the Rev. Messrs. Scales and Hamilton, their heirs at law, and proper Representatives? But we are told *tempora mutantur*, and *Dissenters*, it may also be said,

are not now what they once were! In the first place, then, Mr. Chairman, I shall refer you to the authority of Jeremy Taylor, one of the fathers of the Reformed Church, who took in a large view of the Roman Catholic subject, and what does he say? In his "Sermon on the Gunpowder Treason—(*Laughs from the liberal side of the hustings, with cries of "A thing that never happened,"*)—he says, Vol. vi. p. 607—

"By this time, we see too plainly, that the state of Protestant Princes is full of danger, where these men have to do. They may be deposed and expelled from the government of their kingdoms,—they must be deposed by the Catholics, under peril of their souls,—it may be done any way that is most convenient; they may be rebelled against, fought with, slain. For all this, it were some ease, if here we might fix a 'non ultra.' For, perhaps, these Princes might put in a plea for themselves, and go near to prove themselves to be no heretics. All is one, for though they do, yet unless they can persuade his Holiness not to judge them so, or declare them heretics, all is to no purpose, for to him they must stand or fall. 'Nam judicare an rex pertrahat ad hæresim necne, pertinet ad pontificem.' So Bellarmine. They need not stay till his heresy be of itself manifest, he is then to be used like a heretic, 'when by the Pope of Rome he shall be judged heretical.' But what matter is it if the Pope be judge, for if they may be deposed, as good he as any else? What grievance can this be to the state of Princes more than the former? Yes, very much. 1st. Because the Pope, by his order to spirituals, may take away kingdoms upon more pretences than actual heresy. It is a large title, and may do anything. Bellarmine expresses it handsomely, and it is the doctrine of their great Aquinas. 'The Pope,' saith he 'by his spiritual power, may dispose of the temporalities of all the Christians in the world, when it is requisite to the end of the spiritual power.' The words are plain, that he may

do it for his own ends, (for his is the spiritual power), that is for the advancement of the see apostolic.

P. 609.—“I think it is true enough, that the constituting the Pope the judge of Princes, in the matter of deposition, is of more danger than the thing itself. The sum is this. However schism or heresy may be pretended, yet it is but during the Pope's pleasure, that kings or subjects shall remain firm in their mutual necessitude. For, if our Prince be but excommunicated or declared an heretic, then to be a good subject will be accounted no better than irreligion and Anti-Catholicism. If the conclusion be too hard and intolerable, then so are the premises, and yet they pass for good Catholic doctrine among themselves. But if truly and *‘ex animo’* they are otherwise affected, *they should do well to unsay what hath been said, and declare themselves, by public authority, against such doctrines*, and say whether or no their determinations shall be *‘de fide?’* If they be, then all those famous Catholic doctors, Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, Creswell, Mariana, Emanuel Sa, &c. are heretics, and their canons teach heresy, and many of them proper to be condemned as heretical, for practising and teaching deposition of Princes, by an authority usurped against, and in prejudice of, the Christian faith. But if their answers be not *‘de fide,’* then they had as good say nothing, for the danger is not at all decreased; because if there be doctors on both sides, by their own assertion, they may, without sin, follow either, *but more safely, if they follow the most received and most authorized*; and whither this rule will lead them, I will be judged by any man who has considered the premises. Briefly, either this thing must remain in the same state it is, and our Princes still exposed to extreme hazards, or else *let his Holiness seat himself in his chair, condemn these doctrines, vow against their future practice, limit his ‘ordo ad spiritualia,’* contain himself within the limits of causes merely and indirectly ecclesiastical, disclaim all power, so much as indirect

over Princes' temporals, and all this with an intent to oblige all Christendom. Which, when I see done, I shall be most ready to believe that nothing Popery doth, either directly or by a necessary consequence, destroy loyalty to our lawful Prince; but not till then,—having so much evidence to the contrary.”

Mr. Chairman.—I will now call upon my Rev. Dissenting brethren, (Messrs. Scales and Hamilton) to listen to the opinions of men whose memories they must hold in the highest veneration. I will first read extracts from the works of Baxter—(the Rev. Richard Baxter,) the great Nonconformist. That great man, in his “Christian Directory,” Vol. vi. p. 60—61, observes as follows:—

“It is a manifold usurpation by which their kingdom is upheld, (for a kingdom it is rather to be called than a church.)—1st. They usurp the power of the keys or ecclesiastical government over all the world, and make themselves pastors of those churches, which they have nothing to do to govern. Their excommunications of princes or people, in other lands or churches that never took them for their pastors, is a usurpation the more odious, by how much the power usurped, is the more holy: and the performance in so large a parish as the whole world, is naturally impossible to the Roman usurper. 2. Under the name of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they usurp the magistrates' coercive power in such cases as they call ecclesiastical. 3. Yea, and they claim an immunity to their clergy from the civil government, as if they were no subjects to the King, or the King had not power to punish his offending subjects. 4. ‘In ordine ad spiritualia,’ they claim yet more of the magistrates' power.—5. And one part of them give the Pope *directly* in temporals a power over Kings and kingdoms. 6. Their most eminent divines do ordinarily maintain that the Pope may excommunicate Kings, and interdict kingdoms, and that an excommunicated King is no King, and may be killed. It is an arti-

cle of their religion, determined of in one of their approved general councils, (Later. sub. Innoc. III. Can. 3.) That if temporal lords will not exterminate heretics from their lands, (such as the Albigenses, that denied transubstantiation, mention Can. 2.) the Pope may give their dominions to others, and absolve their vassals from their fealty. And when some of late would have so far salved their honour, as to invalidate the authority of that council, they will not endure it, but have strenuously vindicated it; and, indeed, whatever it is to us, with them, it is already enrolled among the approved general councils."

So much for Mr. Baxter's opinion with regard to the Catholic tenets, well worthy *Mr. Hamilton's* consideration when writing on this question. (*Cheering from the Protestants.*)

Mr. Chairman.—The next authority that I shall quote is that of the Rev. John Howe, an authority which will be no more disputed than that of Baxter. In his works, Vol. vi. p. 174-5, he says:—

"That great fundamental wild conceit, which they (the Papists) have laid at the bottom of their whole enchanted fabric, by which one would wonder how they could hope to impose on any part of the rational world; or could be imposed upon themselves, *that all the power they claim, and use, to the disturbance of mankind, and oppression of the christian church*, they pretend to have by deputation from our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, and by succession from the holy apostle Peter. By deputation from Christ, as if they were his deputies, in doing such a monstrous work as this: as if Christ had deputed them to destroy Christianity; to render it a ridiculous thing, by their inserted fooleries; and odious by their barbarous cruelties; that he, who was the light of the world, should appoint them to overspread it with darkness! That he, who so freely shed his blood to redeem it, had commissioned them so copiously to shed human and

christian blood. To make even his church, the temple of the living God, a shambles and slaughterhouse, and affright the rest of mankind from coming near it, who yet could be as little safe in declining it, if they were within the reach of their arm! What fearful havoc did they make, unprovoked, in America, as soon as they could get any footing there; destroying multitudes of (towards them) harmless, innocent creatures, and who, (as strangers) received them with all possible kindness, even to the number of no less than forty millions, as hath been acknowledged by some of their own historians. Their kings and princes were put to death with most exquisite torture, upon the unjustifiable pretence of their being infidels; but with design to make them confess their gold and treasure, which they did but suspect they concealed. By these inhuman cruelties they laid waste whole fruitful countries, and turned well-peopled lands into mere deserts. And what other tendency could this have, than to engage the nations of the earth against christians, and against christianity itself, as a thing by no means to be endured in the world; and were such multitudes destroyed by Christ's direction, and to propagate the christian faith? And what commotions, war, and bloodshed did they introduce into that large country of Habassia, disturbing that quiet and peaceful Empire, though Christian, only because it would not be Roman! And have we not reason to add the horrid tragedies acted by them, more within our near notice, in the several parts of Europe, and in this kingdom particularly; *and that all this should be pretended to be done by a power derived from Christ*, in so open and contemptuous opposition to the laws and spirit of Christ, the design of his coming into this world, and the very genius and natural tendency of christianity itself. The things, themselves, are full of black horror. But, that they should be said to be done in that name, speaks the most monstrous impudence and infatuation, as if Christ had changed names with the Devil, and laying

aside that of a Saviour, had chosen to be called Abaddon, or Apollyon, the common destroyer of mankind; and having changed his mind, and his very nature, did now set himself to counteract and defeat the design for which he came into the world."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I call upon my Rev. Dissenting Brethren to listen to the opinions of Owen (Dr. Owen) their great man, both in doctrine and discipline. In his work against a Popish author, *Fiat Lux*, he says—

"Your Papal œcumenical supremacy hath *two main branches*.—1. Your Pope's spiritual power over all persons and churches in the things of religion. 2. His power over *Emperors, Kings, and Protestants*, in reference unto religion, or as you speak, "*in ordine ad spiritualia*."

He then goes on to quote from *Dictata Papæ*, on Baronius's annals, under pontificate of Gregory VII.

"9. *Dictate or principle*—Quod solius Papæ pedes, omnes principes deosculantur—that it is the Pope's feet alone which princes may or ought to kiss."—"Yea," adds the Doctor, "and it is a kindness if he kick not their crowns from their heads with his foot, as one did our *King John's*, or tread upon their necks, as another did upon the *Emperor Frederic's*. 12. Quod illi liceat imperatores deponere—that it is lawful for him to depose emperors."

The same Baronius affirms, that these *dictates* (settled or established things in religion) *were established in a synod in Rome, whereby they became the heresies of your whole church*. Did Peter thus feed the church of Christ, seeing, *pasce oves meas*, feed my sheep, is the great pretence for all these exhortations!

P. 290.—The Dr. says, "Bellarmine tells us—that all Catholics agree on these two things:—1. That the Pope, with a general council, cannot err, in making decrees of faith or general precepts of manners. 2. All believers must willingly obey the *Pope*, either alone, or with his particular

council, determining on doubtful matters; whether he may or no.—I confess, if this be so, and he must be obeyed, whether he teacheth truly or falsely, it is to no great purpose to talk of his infallibility, for follow him we must, though it should be to hell !”

And that the Catholic proposition, that *Bellarmino*, himself asserts, is this—“The Pope, when he teacheth the whole church, can, in no case, err in those things which appertain unto faith.”

P. 316.—“It is the principle of your church, whereunto your practice hath been suited, that heretics, after the application of the means for their reclaiming, which you think meet to use, ought to be imprisoned, burned, or some way or other put to death. This you cannot deny to be your principle, it being the very foundation of your inquisition, the chief corner stone in your ecclesiastical fabric, that couples and holds up the whole building together.—*Your councils have determined it—your doctors dispute for it—your church live upon it.*”—(*Several Protestants near the hustings here commenced cheering, which was followed by their friends through the meeting.*)

Let our dissenting brethren ponder these sayings, for amongst them, or indeed any religious communion, were never greater names, than those of *Baxter*, *Howe*, and *Owen*, and such were their views of *Popery in its very essence, and in its inseparable properties*. Are they prepared to say, that these deeply read and profoundly thinking men formed erroneous views of Popery? Can they produce any valid grounds for supposing that Popery is changed from what it was in other times? Has there been another Lateran Council, repealing the decrees of the former?—Or if Popery be unchanged in its essential principles, can they persuade themselves that those who hold it in any form whatever, are suitable persons to be invested with the principal direction of affairs, in a government founded on essentially Protestant principles.

In those times there was no question respecting the admissibility of Papists to political power, and the remarks of *Owen* himself, respecting toleration in general, and particularly as referring to the case of Papists, are well worth attention—"Some, perhaps, by a toleration understand a universal, uncontrolled license, *vivendi utvelis*, in things concerning religion, that every one may be let alone, and not so much as discountenanced in doing, speaking, acting, how, what, where or when he pleaseth, in all such things as concern the worship of God, articles of belief, or generally any thing commanded in religion. I cannot but be persuaded, that *such a toleration* would be exceedingly pernicious to all sorts of men."

He thus applies his views—"That any doctrine tending undeniably in its own nature (and not by strained consequences) to the disturbance of the civil state, may be suppressed by all such means as are lawfully to be used for the conservation of the peace and safety of the state.—And, therefore, they whose faith is faction, and whose religion is rebellion, I mean Jesuits and Jesuitical Papists, some of the articles of whose creeds are directly repugnant to the safety, yea well being of any commonwealth, wherein themselves and men of their own persuasion do not rule, may be proceeded against by them who bear not the sword in vain."—Vol. xv, p. 71—74.

The argument *a fortiori* here is very strong—our dissenting brethren, it is hoped, will pay it special attention.—If, therefore, Dr. Owen, with all his love for toleration, would have exercised a coercive power over Jesuits and Jesuitical Papists in his day, can it be believed that he would have consented to invest Papists with legislative power, at a time when the supreme authority in the Church of Rome has re-established the Jesuit order, and bestowed upon it, in the bull of re-establishment, the highest commendations! In that bull they are termed "*the vigorous rowers, who were necessary to the labouring ship of the Church,*" and to them it appears

that the principal direction of the vessel is at present entrusted.

This, then, amongst others is a striking proof that Popery is not at all changed in its essential principles. It is true that circumstances are not so favourable for the *deployment* of these principles and their unrestrained operations, but they are still the leading maxims of the Papacy: and the Jesuits, as the most fit instruments, are assiduously striving, there is reason to believe, in our own land, as well as others, with great energy, and no despicable success, to bring back the golden age of Papal domination. In *Napoleon au Tribunal de Cesar etc.*, that celebrated chief is made to express himself thus, respecting the Roman See. Speaking of the exaltation of Chiaramonte to the Papal chair, who assumed the name of Pius VII. he observes, "He was an excellent Pontiff. We frequently regretted that our respective stations placed us in opposition. *But the church seeks always to rule—She is exclusive—the policy of the Vatican is always the same as in the times of Gregory, (the famous Hildebrand or Gregory VII.) and Europe ought never to relax from a jealous and watchful position in relation to her.*" This very Pontiff, in his excommunication of Napoleon, had a fair opportunity of intimating, that he did not conceive that his excommunication carried with it any consequences of a temporal nature. On the contrary, the insertion of a saving clause, "*prohibiting any attack upon the person of Napoleon or his adherents,*" and declaring it "*exclusively a spiritual punishment,*" lead to the inference that the Pope still conceives that his authority does extend to temporal punishments, and that his excommunication would carry after it *temporal consequences*, if not expressly restricted to *spiritual ones*. Quite in conformity with this, is the declaration of this very Pope Pius VII. in his state of humiliation, to Napoleon, then in the zenith of his power, on an application to sanction religious liberty in France, *that the Roman Catholic religion could not tolerate any other.*

Think, again, my fellow-townsmen, of the re-publication of the *prohibitory index* at Rome, in the year 1819. The books specified in that index are prohibited to be read by Roman Catholics, under what, to them, is the dreadful penalty of excommunication, and the benefit of absolution is denied to all who do not give up the prohibited books to the Priest! Amongst these volumes which have thus put upon them the stamp of ecclesiastical reprobation, are—

Bacon de augmentis Scientiarum.

Milton's Paradise Lost!

Locke on the Human Understanding.

Not to speak of the sacred word of God itself; even in the most approved Roman Catholic versions. Why then should any persons, and especially such *soi disant friends of liberty* as the advocates of the present address, wish for the introduction of Legislators into the British Senate, who cannot, as good Roman Catholics, and men of sound religion, expand their minds by the perusal of works which are the glory of free and Protestant Britain? and an acquaintance with which must be esteemed indispensable in a member of that, which, thanks to Protestant principles, is the most illustrious,—the most influential,—and the most powerful Senate of the civilized world. How could such Senators, whose minds are either in leading strings to their priests, (or else, what is still worse, they have no just sense of religion at all,)—how, I repeat it, can such Senators be adapted, in expansion of mind, in comprehensive grasp of thought,—in truly British feeling, (which is essentially Anti-papal on many vital subjects,) and in enlightened piety, to an assembly which has enrolled amongst its members, a Chatham, and his no less illustrious Son, a Fox and a Burke, a Canning and a Wilberforce!—Let these Papal claimants first emancipate their own minds from “*the manacles and mufflers*” of Popery! Let them walk erect, as independent men, and not crawl, like slaves, to kiss the toe, of that hateful usurper, who has established himself upon *the seven hills* of Rome, at once the ape and the rival of him who

is "*a Priest upon his throne!*" Then, and not till then, will the free-born sons of Britain esteem them suitable persons whom to invest with delegated power; for, if in any conditions, the sentiment of the Poet is true, assuredly it is so, in its application to Roman Catholic claimants, for power in a government which is the seat and support of the world's freedom,—the principal bulwark of civil and religious liberty. The sentiment is this, "Who rules over freemen, should himself be free." (*Tremendous shouts from the right, and hisses from the left.*) But, I go on, Mr. Chairman, to shew the unchanging character and dangerous nature of the Roman Catholic Religion, particularly in relation to the Roman Catholic Claims in this country.

Butler's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 123, 125.—In the year 1789, the Roman Catholics made a protestation renouncing obnoxious principles. A bill was prepared for their relief from certain disabilities and hardships under which they then laboured, containing an oath to be taken, in order to entitle persons to the relief afforded by the bill. "An oath was accordingly framed, which, in its original form, was an exact transcript of the protestation, and, consequently, contained nothing more than what the Bishops, with the body of the English Catholics, had already signed and approved. It was communicated to the ministry, and the leaders of administration thought fit to make alterations in it. The alteration was immediately submitted to the three ecclesiastical members of the committee. Their voice was unanimous in favour of the admissibility of the alterations. Bishop James Talbot took the oath with him into the country, and at the next meeting of the committee, returned it with a verbal declaration that 'he saw *nothing in it contrary to good faith or good morals.*'" Of this material circumstance, a minute was made and signed by seven members of the committee. The clause in the protestation, which was the subject of this alteration, was the following:—"That no church, nor any

prelate, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, have, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction or authority within this realm, that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof; or the rights, liberties, persons, or properties of the people of the said realm, or any of them." In the oath, the party declared, "that no foreign Prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any civil jurisdiction or authority whatsoever, within this realm;—or any *spiritual authority, power or jurisdiction whatsoever, that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, or constitution of this kingdom, or with the civil or ecclesiastical government thereof, as by law established, or with the rights, liberties, persons, or properties of the subjects thereof.*"

By the direction of the Committee, a copy of the oath in its altered form, was inserted in *Woodfall's Register*, June 26, 1789.—On the 21st Oct. 1789, the four Vicars Apostolic signed an encyclical letter, addressed by them to all the faithful, both clergy and laity, in their four districts, by which they signified that, "having held a meeting on the "19th October, after mature deliberation and previous discussion, they *unanimously condemned* the new form of an oath intended for the Catholics, published in *Woodfall's Register*, June 26th, 1789, and declared it unlawful to be taken, and also declared that none of the faithful, clergy or laity under their care, ought to take any new oath, or sign any new declaration *in doctrinal matters*, or subscribe any new instrument wherein the interests of religion are concerned, without the previous approbation of their respective Bishops."

The oath was afterwards altered to the words of the protestation. This alteration satisfied one *Vicar Apostolic*, but not the others; who, on the 19th Jan. 1791, addressed to the faithful of their respective districts, after noticing their con-

denunciation of the former oath, and that their condemnation of it was confirmed by the Apostolic See, and sanctioned also by all the Bishops in England and Ireland, declared the altered oath remained *liable to the censure fixed on the former*.—

[Here the Catholic party lost both patience and temper; and receiving the necessary signals from their generals on the platform, shouted with all their might. This was repeated several times, Mr. Baines standing in front, and urging them on to "*Give one cheer more*." This being done, Mr. Baines impressed upon the Chairman the necessity of putting the question as soon as Mr. Galland should conclude, and several members of the Requisition Committee desired the speaker to conclude; an uproarious cry being raised at the same time of "*Question*." Mr. G. however, still persisted in being heard to the end, declaring his determination not to be put down by clamour. He then proceeded:—Now, my fellow-townsmen, is not there matter for serious reflection here? If Roman Catholics cannot, in conformity with the principles of their religion, take such oaths as those, are they fitted to be entrusted with the direction of affairs amongst us, or a seat in the legislature, which is solemnly bound to protect and prefer the Protestant religion!

This is quite in union with the rejection, by the Catholic Clergy in 1821, of the following clause in Mr. Plunkett's Bill:—"Every Priest shall swear, that he will not have any correspondence or communication with the See of Rome, or with any authority under that See, tending directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb the Protestant Government, or the Protestant Church of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Protestant Church of Scotland, as by law established."

Mr. O'Connell, in a sort of circular letter, thus answers:—"Can the Priests take this oath without incurring a direct breach of their duty, and the immediate guilt of perjury. As far as relates to the Protestant Church, it appears to interpose *frightful difficulties*."

But I can, perchance, explain the scruples of the Popish Ecclesiastics, respecting the amended oath, which extended afterwards to the oath in its original form. We can afford this explanation, by a quotation from the writing of the famous *Cardinal Bellarmine*. He acknowledges that, in a direct sense, the Pope is not the Lord of the whole Christian world, nor has any temporal jurisdiction *directly*, cap. iii. 4, *de Romano Pontifice*—but then he goes on to assert and prove, at considerable length, that he has this power *indirectly*. These are his words put into English—"Although the Pope, as the Pope, has no merely temporal power, nevertheless, in order to spiritual good, he has the supreme power (*summam potestatem*) of disposing of the temporal affairs of all Christians." That we may explain more particularly the spiritual power of the Pope, is to be compared with the persons of judges and secular princes, and with their civil laws. In what relates to persons, the Pope cannot, as Pope, ordinarily depose Princes, even for a just cause, in the same manner in which he deposes Bishops, that is, as the ordinary judge: nevertheless, he can change kingdoms, taking them from one and conferring them upon another, as the supreme spiritual head, if that be necessary to the welfare of souls."—"As regards laws, or civil institutions, the Pope cannot, as Pope, ordinarily make a civil law, or confirm it, or make void the laws of Princes, because he is not the political head of the church: nevertheless, he can do all these things, if any civil law be necessary to the welfare of souls, and Kings will not make or establish that law, or if any law be injurious to the same, and Kings will not abrogate it."—Mark what he says in his proofs—"If Christians did not depose Nero, Diocletian, and Julian the Apostate, &c. it was because they had not temporal strength or physical power sufficient for that enterprize!"—*De Rom. Pont. vol. 1, cap. iii. 4.*

It is, therefore, indispensably requisite, that the greatest care should be taken in the construction of oaths, intended

to bind Roman Catholics, and give security to Protestant Establishments; if this most difficult and delicate, and I, for one, think, impracticable object, is seriously to be pursued—the drawers-up of such oaths, on the part of the British Constitution, should be well acquainted with all the subtle and quirky distinctions of Popish writers; the terms of the oath must be studiously adapted to meet these, and cut off, *if possible*, all those wily passages of retreat, from the *apparent obligations* of oaths, to secure Protestant establishments, which may be found, doubtless, *and brought forth when they are wanted*, in writings of established authority and reputation in their church.

When this great object is secured, it will be necessary to have the explicit confirmation of the Roman See, to an oath thus minutely and comprehensively constructed.—*Those that act on the part of British Protestants, should by no means give up this, for, to serve present purposes*, the Roman See may wink at oaths being taken by its *spiritual subjects*, which oaths, that See knows full well, will only be esteemed as binding by them, until the period arrives for the Pope to declare his disapprobation, and the consequent nullity of the oaths that shall have been thus *irregularly* taken, and securities vainly supposed to be founded upon them.—It will be noted, that the prohibition contained in the encyclical letter of 1789, already quoted, imperatively requires us to insist upon a solemn ratification, by the See of Rome, of the terms of whatever oaths may be agreed upon by way of security to our British establishments; and that Statesman would be a traitor to his country's dearest and most sacred interests, who should attempt to accept of any oaths from Roman Catholics, without such a ratification. After all, I strongly urge the necessity of being firm in retaining matters upon their present footing, until the See of Rome shall have formally renounced her obnoxious doctrines. (*Tremendous cheering and continued uproar from the Papists.*) If the Roman Catholic claimants

are now found to recede from these monstrous and revolting doctrines, and even to denounce them as *wicked and heretical*, let them shew their just apprehensions on these subjects, by withdrawing from the spiritual domination of that church, which still upholds them, and as Dr. Owen strongly, and most appropriately, puts it,—even “*lives by them.*” Is not persecution still going on in Papal countries? And is not any deviation from it an exception to established law and principles? Could Mr. Rawson, as a christian of the Independent persuasion, lift up an unblushing countenance in this free country, and demand a share in its government, while persons of his own denomination, and to whom he was, I will not say in strict spiritual subjection, but united in any religious affinities whatever, patronise *murders*, mis-named legal and proper executions for heresy, in any part of the globe? I repeat it,—Rome must, by determinations and authorities, as explicit as those which have been already quoted, revoke her bloody decrees, and reject *her dictates of universal domination*, ere any one *who does not come out of her* can safely be entrusted with legislative functions in an essentially Protestant government.

Men must be judged of according to the company with which they voluntarily associate. Would any of you, my fellow-townsmen, think it prudent to entrust the key of his house to the avowed friends and fautors of those who had publicly expressed the most hostile intentions against your persons and properties, even if the candidates for such a function made strong professions of dissent from their associates in all such schemes against your dearest interests?—The very circumstance of a preference given to the company of your avowed enemies, over that of honourable men, your friends and protectors, would be sufficient to induce you to withhold your confidence.

The similitude holds good in all its points. The Pope and his principle clergy, are by their published principles, (already

quoted) in a state of declared hostility against all independent governments and heretical monarchs. Romanists in this united kingdom, who disclaim fraternity with them in these principles, and the results to which, *under favourable circumstances*, they necessarily lead, are the claimants of a right, in conjunction with others, to be invested with the keys of our Protestant house. These persons, as Romanists, acknowledge a spiritual subjection of undefined and undefinable extent, to the Pope and his clergy, invested with *these pretended regalities of St. Peter*, of which we have already seen their own definition.—These claimants brand us as heretics, and cut us off from the true church, without the pale of which no man can be saved, because we do not recognize the spiritual claims of their clergy, to be the only true Ministers of the Christian Church. We feel scruples about their admission to political power, which they endeavour to remove by reiterated assertions, *which they are very careful, however, on what terms they support by oaths and binding covenants*, that they will not disturb our Protestant establishments, and, in point of fact, will absolutely defend them against their acknowledged spiritual lords and masters, who, however, these claimants well know, claim a right to come in, take full possession, and put down all opposition to their uncontrolled sway!—I grant it, that our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects may, at present, honestly mean what they say; many of them are, personally, very honourable and respectable men; but who, that knows the position of the Roman Catholic Laity, in respect of their clergy, and the doctrine of their church, respecting oaths, would think of putting the *social virtues and liberal views* of the former, to the *severe trial* to which leading political influence, in a Protestant State, would assuredly expose them? Has not the council of Trent defined in its catechism, “*that a just man, whatever he may lawfully promise or swear, he shall never change, unless the circumstances of things being changed, the engagement may*

*begin to be such, that by keeping it, he would incur the hatred and displeasure of Almighty God?"—And to whom does it appertain to declare such a change of circumstances? Does it not belong to the See of Rome, which has innumerable times authoritatively absolved persons, and whole nations too, from the obligation of the most solemn oaths? Think, then, my fellow-townsmen, of the position in which the British Government would find itself, especially in relation to Ireland, if a concatenation of circumstances should arise, rendering it *politically possible*, or *rationaly feasible*, to make an attempt for the subversion of the Protestant Church, which, according to the *Roman Catholic Catechism*, "*is led by the spirit of the Devil.*"*

The highly respectable mover of the address (Mr. Tottie,) has employed much argumentation, not very relevant to the point, on the subject of his Majesty's *Coronation Oath*.—*The King or Queen*, as he justly observes, swears "*to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion, as by law established, and the rights and privileges of the Clergy and the churches committed to their charge.*" Now, Mr. Chairman, we that oppose the address now read, do so, on this, amongst other grounds, that we conceive that the terms of this part of the *Coronation Oath* bind the Sovereign not to sanction any acts bringing into the legislature, or into stations of leading political influence, any persons whatsoever, holding principles so hostile to the Protestant religion, as those of the Roman Catholic faith already stated; nor any persons, moreover, who are so closely connected with those who have avowed such principles, as the Roman Catholic laity with the Clergy of their persuasion. We strenuously contend that the most *just and natural interpretation of the Coronation Oath* is the obligation it imposes upon the Sovereign, to keep out of Parliament especially, and all leading places in the State, all Romanists whatsoever, while Roman principles remain

what they are, and while *the regalities of St. Peter* are in such glaring opposition to the *regalities of the British throne*, (*Great cheering and continued uproar*,) and to the rights and liberties of all Protestant Christians. So his late Majesty thought, (the venerable George III.) whose name and example be in everlasting remembrance! And we do indeed believe, that if any of his descendants should come to think and act otherwise, which God avert, such Sovereign would thereby virtually sign an act for the exclusion of the illustrious family of Brunswick from the British Throne, as the unfortunate Charles First substantially signed his own death warrant, in passing the bill for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford!—(*Continued clamour, in which the cries of "Question" only were audible, while the Protestants continued to applaud.*)

In the consideration of this great question, it is further needful that we should look at the state of the Roman Catholic world, as regards the actual enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. And here, to give all their due, I thank our opponents for an useful idea in one of their hand-bills, circulated on this occasion. It is this:—"Civil and Religious Liberty cannot exist separately." A good maxim. Let the addressers look at it, and consider what religious liberty is found in *Spain, Portugal, and Italy!* What religious liberty again exists throughout the wide range of new republics of *Spanish America!* Is it not enacted there that the Holy Roman religion shall be the religion of the State, and the profession of any other be entirely prohibited. If a different system prevails in other Roman Catholic countries, France for instance, it is in opposition to Popish influence, which is at present controlled by various circumstances; and every where Popery wears, in relation to Protestantism, the most untoward and frowning aspect. It does not appear, indeed, that in any Popish countries Protestants enjoy an equal degree of truly valuable liberty—liberty, I mean, for

the diffusion of their own sentiments, and the propagation of what they believe to be true religion, as Roman Catholics do at this present time, under the Protestant Government of Great Britain! And of the temporary and precarious liberty which Protestants do enjoy in Popish states, much depends upon the *undiluted Protestant character* of the British Senate and Government. If once Roman Catholic influence be admitted into the high court of Parliament, and a higher field than at present exists, be opened to the dangerous intrigues of Jesuit emissaries, the Protestant cause, all the world over, will proportionally suffer and be weakened! (*Increased clamour, but the speaker proceeded, although his voice was lost among the multitude.*) Thus then, it appears, that Roman Catholic influence is always found in inflexible opposition to liberty, and at the present day, acts with a most deleterious energy upon its interests all the world over, where it has rule! Thus, wherever the tree of liberty is planted, in proportion as Roman Catholic influence is predominant, that influence causes it to wear but a sickly aspect, withering its blossoms, nor permitting its choicest fruits to develope themselves. [Here that small portion of the friends of Protestantism, who could hear the speaker, commenced cheering, which was loudly reiterated by their friends, throughout the assembly, the people on the left, continuing to express their disapprobation of the Rev. Gentleman's proceeding with his Address, by every means possible. Mr. Galland, nevertheless, proceeded:]—It is, therefore, in the sacred name of liberty, or rather of that great and glorious being, who delights in the freedom of the human race, and has provided for its bestowal upon men, in the amplest and most blissful sense, by means of that word of His, which Roman Catholics sedulously attempt to bind—that I protest against Popish influence. If it be the influence of honest Roman Catholics, and well principled men, according to the tenets of their own religion, they cannot cordially support Protestant Institutions,—they cannot

bind themselves, as every British Senator ought, to support, with life and limb, our Protestant religious establishments, and our Protestant succession to the throne.—Their connection with the See of Rome, while that See retains its Antiregal and Anti-christian pretensions, totally unfits them for dominant influence, in any Protestant state. In the name, therefore, of rational and christian liberty, and of the dearest rights of universal man, I protest against an Address to His Majesty, tending to introduce such influence, and I second the amendment which has already been proposed to you. [The cheering and disapprobation which followed the termination of the Rev. Gentleman's elaborate speech, continued for several minutes.]

THE ADDRESS
OF
MR. WILLIAM ATKINSON,

Intended to have been delivered at the Meeting held at Leeds, convened to vote an Address to his Majesty in favour of Catholic Emancipation.

Mr. Chairman,—My heart rejoices at the sight of this numerous and respectable meeting, who are assembled here, to decide upon a question of the highest importance to the peace and future happiness of this nation.

The obvious danger of admitting Roman Catholics to power, in a Protestant kingdom, is so glaring, that I cannot entertain a doubt of this day's issue, if all who are here, are free from that tyranny which the head and teachers of the Romish Church exercise over the minds and conduct of all within its pale; and I confidently assert, that if all present were free from undue influence,* that I should not entertain the shadow of a doubt, as to what decision this meeting will adopt. We know that your politics are not in accordance with what we deem truly patriotic,—though we have acquiesced in your nomination to the chair, by our opponents. Their previous conduct has shewn their disingenuousness, and we have manifested our apprehensions of unfair † conduct on their parts, by having exacted their unwilling concurrence

* It was known that the Friends of Popery, J. Marshall, Esq., O'Willans and Sons, Holbeck; O'Willans and Son, Kirkstall; Titley, Tatham, and Walker, Bruce, Dorrington and Walker, &c. &c., intended to bring the Workmen employed in their extensive Factories, to the Meeting, to vote for Catholic Emancipation.

† The Liberals had departed from the plan of proceeding, previously given by them to the other party.

in a proposal* so equitable in itself, that such ungracious conduct proved their dishonourable intentions.

I am aware that there are very many in this assembly who are not sufficiently informed, as to the Doctrine and Canon Law of the Romish Church; to be competent to decide prudently and rationally, on the question now at issue: and shall take leave to read some extracts from the Roman Catholic Canon Law, which I have made for the information of all whom it may concern.

The Sacred Ceremonies of the Romish Church, by Marcellus, Archbishop of Corcira, dedicated to Pope Leo X. printed at Rome, and highly approved and commended by their eminent writers, asserts—"That the Pope is supreme over all Kings and Emperors, and that the Emperor, when he approaches the Pope, must, as soon as he sees him, bow, till his knee touch the ground, and worship the Pope; and coming nearer must bow again; and when he comes to the Pope, he must bow a third time, and devoutly kiss the Pope's foot."—"Pope Innocent III. made King John swear fealty to him."

Cardinal Poole (*Libro ad Hem. 8.*) says, "The Priest commands the King; but the King cannot command the Priest."

Azorius, in his *Instituter. Moral. Tom. 2, lib. 10.* says, "That the Emperor, by the law of God, is subject to the Pope;" and a Prior General of his order (*Blazius Bagnus de S. Romæ Ecclesiæ Dignitatibus. Tract. 7, p. 83.*) "That the Pope's empire is over all the world; that he is the only Vicar of God, who has supreme power and empire over all Kings and Princes of the earth."—And cites *Johannes Andreas* and *Hortensis*, two great lawyers, in proof.—In *Glossa ad Cap. Cuminter. 4. Verbo. Declarimus de Verb. Signif. in Ex-*

* That in case of dispute, each party should appoint four Tellers. W. A. was on the Committee of Arrangements, who met the Committee of the Requisitionists, when this arrangement was settled.

travag. Johan. 22.—stiles the Pope “Dominus Deus noster Papa.”

Abraham Bzovius states,—“That the Pope is monarch of all christians; that he is supreme over all mortals; that there is no appeal from him;—that he is the judge of heaven, and in all earthly judgments supreme, and that the Pope is the arbitrator of the world.” This Bzovius proves from many authors, and is himself approved by the Apostolic Inquisitor. Isidorus Mosconius, Vicar General to the Archbishop of Bononia, says,—“That the Pope is universal Judge,—Lord of Lords, and King of Kings;—that God’s Tribunal and the Pope’s are one and the same;—that all other Powers are his subjects,” and cites many of their Canons and decrees of Councils in proof. Celsus Mansinus states the same in his “De Juribus Principatum Romæ 1596, lib. 3.” The fore cited are received into the body of their Canon Law, which all the Roman Clergy swear to observe, and cause to be observed, to the utmost of their power; which I shall shew you by the recital of the oaths, the Romish Bishops and Priests all take; for which purpose I have transcribed them at the end of the extracts which I have made, from the Decrees of Councils and the Roman Canon Law, which not only Priests and Bishops, but also all the faithful of that Holy Mother Church hold sacred as their lives, and which they are bound to do, so long as they remain Papists. They have only one allegiance to offer,—they have no alternative—they cannot even divide their allegiance, it must of necessity be wholly to the Pope; or to those whom the Roman Catholic Church has declared heretics; which all of that faith are at interminable war with—which you will find proved by some of the Canons and Decrees of Councils, which I have to recite.

Bellarmino, Emanuel Sa, Suares, Mariana, Turrecremata, Canonists, Schoolmen, Casuists, Jesuits, &c. hold the opinion, “That the Pope may depose Kings and absolve their

subjects from their allegiance to them;" and Celsus Mansinus, a Canon regular of the order of St. Augustine, says, "It is evident to all, that Emperors are deposed and deprived, by the Pope, who puts others in their places," and cites the Canon of a General Council (*a*) in proof.

Simon Samanca, a learned bishop says, "That heretics are deprived of all dominion and jurisdiction, and their subjects freed from their obedience,"—he proves it from a decree of Gregory IX. extant in the body of their Canon Law.—This, by S. Samanca, is privileged and licensed, by public authority, to be printed; with the approval of the Censor Librorum, and is highly commended: as it contained nothing offensive to the Catholic faith.

Emanuel Sa states in *Aphor. Confess. Verbo. clericus*, p. 41. Col. 1599, "That if a clergyman rebels against his King, it is not treason." Phil. Manardus, from the Roman Canon Law, cites "That Emperors and Kings are the Pope's subjects;—that Emperors and Kings may be deposed by the Pope; the Pope has power in the whole world; statutes made by laymen do not bind the clergy." Our King, Lords, and Commons are not only laymen, but heretics, (according to the Roman Canon Law, and the faith of all true papists) who may be lawfully killed by any one, as I shall presently shew you, by reciting Canon Laws, and Decrees of Council to that effect. These liberal gentlemen will perhaps tell you that the Canons are ancient—the acts of grey beards that are become obsolete, from which there is no danger, and can only frighten children; but I call upon those who profess to be so much actuated by liberal principles, to prove their professions, by shewing us that these Canons and Decrees of Councils, which denounce such tyranny and cruelty against us, have been as solemnly, publicly, and by the same authority, repealed and renounced, before they shew their liberality to such a cruel, intolerant, and tyrannical church: and not blend their liberality to Papists with

such an overwhelming mixture of daring, rather I ought to say, impudent illiberality towards Protestants, by letting hell loose upon them.

Emanuel Sa further states (*ibid.*) "That the Pope is the Vicar of God, and preferred before all powers as God himself, and that every creature is subject to him; that it is necessary to salvation to be subject to the Pope; and that he who affirms the contrary is no Christian,"—(of course he is a heretic!) By Canon Excommunicatorum, 47. Caus. 23. Quæst. 5. "They are not murderers who, out of zeal to the church, take arms against excommunicated persons." Gratian registers this in his decretum, and so it is confirmed and received into the body of their Canon Law, in their last and best editions.—Paris, 1612 and 1668.

Why have not these liberals obtained the books of the Roman Canon Law to quiet our pusillanimous fears, by shewing that they do not contain such hellish doctrine? Cardinal Turrecremata, who well understood the Sacred Canons of the Romish Church, and what sense that Church received them in, knows, at least, as well as these liberal gentlemen, who, no doubt, are perfectly sincere in their professions of liberality towards their Roman Catholic BRETHREN; and I wish they would prove their liberality towards us who are of the same household of faith, with most of themselves, by shewing a like zeal for our good,—as they know that a Cardinal is a high office in the church of Rome; I believe it is but one step below a Pope; and I venture to pronounce the Cardinal somewhat better skilled in the Roman Canon Law, than all the talents of the liberals in Leeds. The Cardinal, in his commentary last cited, affirms "That the Pope may depose a King, or a King not subject to the Emperor. The Pope may lawfully absolve subjects from their allegiance. Subjects, with the Pope's consent, may depose their King, and if the King be a manifest heretic, the Church may depose him."

The Jesuits in Ireland have long been teaching the peasantry in that island, that the King of Sardinia (who is a Papist) is the lawful heir to the crown of the British Isles; —of course George IV. is an usurper and a tyrant, as well as a heretic, for either of which he is under the anathema of the Romish Church, as I shall shew you anon from Canons or Decrees of Councils which I shall quote. Not only the Canon in Gratius' time, but a long annotation since, that approves and confirms the same; and Pope Gregory XIII. both approved and confirmed it in a Bull published by himself. Beside the testimonies of particular writers of their own church, their approved, established, and received Canon Law generally assumes the same.

The Popes, who arrogate to themselves supreme power, in their Briefs and Bulls, printed in Rome, at the Vatican Press, assert the same supremacy of power, which cannot be questioned in this country, since the effects of the Bull of Pius V. with the following title prefixed, have been (though but partially) severely experienced in this country:—*“Damnatio. et Excommunicatio. Elizabæthæ Angliæ, Reginæ, eiquæ Adhærentium;”* and runs as follows:—“We, by the plenitude of Apostolical power, declare the said Elizabeth a heretic; and that both her and her adherents have incurred the sentence of excommunication; and to be all cut off from the unity of the body of Christ; and we deprive her of all her pretended royal rights, and all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and further we absolve all the nobility, subjects, and people of England, and all others who have any way sworn to her from such oath; and we declare them for ever absolved from all allegiance or obedience to her; and we do, by these presents, absolve them. And we command and forbid all peers, people, and subjects of England, to dare to give any obedience to the Queen, her monitions, commands, or laws; and if any

do otherwise, we involve them in the same sentence, anathema and excommunication."

Having done this, the Pope, in the plenitude of his power, gave the Queen's dominions to Philip II. of Spain, as was confessed by Father Carron, an Irish Catholic priest. Their General Council of Lyons, (the great Lateran Council) consisting of one thousand two hundred and fifteen fathers, decreed and made it part of their Canon Law "That Kings are to be compelled by the Pope to expel all heretics from their kingdoms, on pain of excommunication." Same in Bulls published at Rome, 1671 and 1673, referred into the body of the Roman Canon Law.

All Protestants (kings and subjects) were declared heretics, and solemnly cursed by Pope Paul IV.; and that it might be more particularly observed, was, upwards of one hundred years after, referred into the body of their Canons. This excommunication particularises emperors, kings, dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, and all heretics, and not only those who were at that time heretics, but also all who afterwards should be; and the punishment which this Bull fulminates against heretics is excommunication, suspension, deprivation, and all other punishments that any Pope in any Papal Canon or Constitution, howsoever made or ordained, against heretics; all which Canons and Constitutions Pope Pius V. approves, confirms, and will have perpetually observed. The same sentence he also passes upon bishops and archbishops, which then were heretics, or for the future ever should be heretics. Observe—This constitution, which denounces all these curses, is a constitution which the Popes intend to keep in force to the end of time: and all heretics, without accusation or legal conviction, are under that plurality of curses; so that our King and all his Protestant subjects, (not excusing those Dissenters who appear here as his friends this day).i. e. all who are not Roman Catholics, and even those Romanists who shall in any way favour them,

stand actually excommunicated and cursed at the present time, as much as if the Bull had only been issued last week. Again I remark, let the friends of Catholic Emancipation (as those friends are pleased to name it) shew us that these curses are annulled by the same authority that denounced them, before they can expect us to be satisfied, and cease our opposition to the measures their whole hearts seem to be set upon. Perhaps they will reply, "They are obsolete. The Corporation and Test Acts were so before they were repealed. *Dissenters sat in Parliament; but were not satisfied. They complained that those Acts hung in terrorem over them. We claim the same plea: can they have the impudence to refuse it, after using it themselves?*" But lest this sweeping, lasting curse, should not be so effectual as the tame hieroglyphical monster (which some of his friends would have us believe is laying quiet, that we may pare his claws and draw his fangs) designed it, Pope Clement X. issued his pious "*Bulla Cænæ Domini*," which ordains that all "*Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, and all heretics of whatsoever name, shall annually on Maunday Thursday, be anathematised and cursed.*"

By the 38 and 39 Sess. of the Council of Constance, it was decreed, "That the Pope has power to curse and damn Kings; to deprive them of all power and jurisdiction; absolve their subjects from all obligations, either natural, or arising from oaths; to arm their subjects against their Sovereigns, &c. That subjects ought and are bound strictly, both by law and conscience, to depose their Princes, if heretics; that they are bound so to do, both by the law of God, the most strict law of conscience, and the utmost peril of their souls." Council Lateran—Magnum sub Innocentio 3rd. Cam 43. Baronius—Annal. Tom. 10.—and also, 49. p. 155.

"Forbidding all clergy, from taking any oaths of fidelity or allegiance; and declares it unlawful for secular Princes to require any such oath." This accounts for Roman Catholics

refusing to take oaths; their friends take credit for their conscientiousness; they cannot, in the same breath, object to their conscientiousness in strictly keeping the obligations their church lays upon them. This last cited council, is an Œcumenical council, and infallible—Joseph Creswell's *Philopatër*, Sec. 2. Num. 160 and 162.

This constitution of their great Œcumenical council is referred into the body of their canon law, by Pope Gregory IX. and remains in their best editions, commended by Pope Gregory XIII.

Thus it appears that the Romish Church, by their Canons, approved and received laws, forbids their clergy to take any oath of allegiance; therefore, their objection to oaths to secular Princes, especially heretic Princes, and both which, our Gracious Monarch is declared, by the Roman Catholic Canon Law; seeing he is both a heretic and a tyrant, not having a rightful title to the throne of these realms; as they are teaching that the Popish King of Sardinia, is the rightful heir to the throne of these realms; the objection of the Romish clergy to oaths, is clearly accounted for, and as by their received canon law, Clergymen are not capable of treason, (176.) Cardinal Caetan, also says it is impossible, (*ibid*) they are at free liberty to teach treason, and encourage their deluded flocks to the perpetration of the most revolting acts; having the promise of heaven if they suffer death in the prosecution of any project that their church, by its Canons and Decrees of Councils, declare to them not only legal but meritorious, as will be shewn satisfactorily in succeeding extracts from the Roman Canon Law.

“All Dignitaries in cathedrals, collegiate churches; all who have cure of souls; all who are provided for, or preferred to, any monastery or religious house whatsoever, and of whatsoever order of regulars; all doctors, masters, regents, and professors of any art or faculty; whether laity, clergy, or regulars of any order, in any university, town, church, or

monastery; whether they profess divinity, canon or civil law, physic, philosophy, grammar, or any other liberal art, publicly or privately; or take degrees in any university, by the disposition of the Pope and Council of Trent; are to promise, vow, and swear to obey the Pope, as Peter's successor, and Christ's vicar; and to receive, and without all doubtings, to profess, all things delivered, defined, and declared, in the sacred Canons, and general Councils: especially in the Council of Trent,—this they swear to do constantly as long as they live; and to take care, to the utmost of their power, that all under them, or who are committed to their charge, shall do so." And the Pope further declares, "That God Almighty did, by the Holy Ghost, inspire the Trent Fathers, to require that this oath should be taken." Be it observed, that all the Laity are under some one who takes the fore recited oath; and are, therefore, to receive and believe according to the directions of their teachers. In obeying the Pope, as Peter's successor, he claims that the Romish church make, as due to the Pope, stiled—"Dominus Deus noster Papa: King of Kings, and Lord of Lords;—claiming that all creatures are subject to him; that the Pope inherits the power of dethroning kings and emperors, and putting others in their places; absolving subjects from their allegiance; declaring kings or emperors heretics and tyrants, by which any person may lawfully kill them," and thus rendering the existence of a king or emperor to depend upon the Pope's pleasure, or the will and pleasure of any ruffian or assassin, who believes the Doctrine and Canon Law of the Romish church; which, in fact, absolves subjects from every sense of allegiance to such as are not of the Holy Roman Catholic Faith; and forbids all men to hold allegiance to such, they being declared, by the Decrees of Councils, Bulls of Popes, and the Holy Roman Catholic Canon Law, heretics and tyrants, who may not only lawfully be killed by any person, but also declaring that any one who, out of zeal to

that Holy Mother Church, kills a heretic, not only does a meritorious act, but does God service, and merits for them a higher place in heaven. Let no one say these Canon Laws, &c. are all a dead letter! No better than old wives' fables! I know that this is the belief of the great majority of Papists; and if you recur to the oath just recited, and take into the account the monstrous thralldom of mind which the Catholic clergy, (who must all take the fore recited oath) hold the great bulk of Papists in, and the power they exercise over their minds and consciences, it cannot be admitted that any one who is a conscientious Roman Catholic can do otherwise. But the oath which the Romish bishops take, goes a step further:—They swear to impugn and persecute heretics, and, to the utmost of their power, make others do so; as will be shewn when I come to recite the oath which bishops take, which runs as follows:—

“I, A. B. from this time forward, will be faithful and obedient to my Lord the Pope, and his successors; the councils with which they trust me, I will not discover to any man, to the hurt of the Pope and his successors; I will assist them *to retain and defend* the Popedom, and the *Royalties of St. Peter against all men*; I will carefully *conserve, defend, and promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authority* of the Pope; I will not be in any *council, fact, or treaty* in which anything *prejudicial* to the Pope is contrived; and if I shall know any such things treated of, *by any whomsoever*, I will, to the utmost of my power, hinder them, *and with all possible speed signify them to the Pope*; I will, to the utmost of my power, *observe the Pope's commands, and make others observe them*; I will *impugn and persecute heretics and rebels* to my Lord the Pope; I will come to the Synod when he calls me,” &c. Be it remembered, that previous to the taking this oath, the bishops must have taken the former one; and do not these, considered with the Romish Canon Law collectively, prove, beyond a doubt, that there is no safety

(where Papists have power) for either Protestant religion or people. The discipline of the Roman Catholic church is a cloud of darkness: its faith is unchangeably intolerant, persecuting, and cruel. Papists can hold no allegiance, but to their Pope and church! A half allegiance has been thought insufficient; but Papists cannot even offer a divided allegiance,—the allegiance of Roman Catholics is one and indivisible.

Encouragement for those who undertook the cross, for the recovery of the Holy Land, “The Pope proclaimed remission of sin to them; they had no penance or other act to perform, in order to free them from the punishment due to all mortal sins; but the taking the cross on the expedition to the Holy Land, alone opened for them (if they fell in battle) the gates of heaven, without having to pass through purgatory.” Rev. Dr. Philpot’s letter to C. Butler, p. 182.

The great Lateran Council decreed, “That all Catholics, who assuming the badge of the cross, should take up arms for the extermination of heretics, should enjoy the same privilege and indulgence, as was granted to those who went to the relief of the Holy Land.”—Ibid. p. 183.

The Class Book used at present in the college of Maynooth, by candidates for theology, states, “That the Pope has power to grant indulgencies to souls in purgatory.”—Ibid. p. 188-9.

The Council of Trent decrees, “That priests are judges, and that their absolution is strictly judicial.”

The right of Henry VIII. to apply to universities, is treated with scorn by the Romish prelates, because adverse to the interests of the Popedom! But the right of Mr. Pitt to do the same is admitted and clung to—the Romish prelates wishing to benefit by it.—Dr. Philpot p. 271-2.

The great Lateran Council decrees “That secular powers shall be admonished, and, if necessary, compelled to make oath, that they will, to the utmost of their power, strive to exterminate all heretics from their dominions.”—Ibid. p. 275.

It is the opinion of Bellarmine, in which the Romish divines generally concur, "That the Pope has not directly and immediately any temporal power, but only a spiritual power. Nevertheless, that by reason of the spiritual power, he has at least indirectly a certain power, and that supreme in temporals! The spiritual power does not mix itself in temporals, but suffers all things to proceed, so long as they do not oppose the end of the spiritual power, or be not necessary to obtain it; but if any thing of this sort occurs, the spiritual can and ought to coerce the temporal by any way and means which shall seem necessary for its purpose.—Ibid. 285, 6, 7, 8, 9.

It has been clearly shewn, that, by the Romish Canon Law the Pope is supported in his claim to the sovereignty of the whole earth. "That all who are not Roman Catholics are heretics; that there is no salvation out of the pale of that church." The Romish bishops swear to impugn and persecute heretics; the priests and people are under their domination; they believe that it is doing God service when they kill heretics; that the blood of heretics is an acceptable sacrifice to the God of heaven and earth, who has declared "that he will have mercy and not sacrifice."

The Romish church commands not to marry; and to abstain from meats, which God has given to be received with thanksgiving.

The Popes boast that they are the successors of St. Peter. This apostle, in his first epistle, last verse but one, calls Rome, "Babylon!" In Acts x. he says, "I perceive of a truth, God is no respecter of persons, but in all nations he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." The Romish church says, "There is none of any nation can be saved except Papists."—Ibid. Peter, when Cornelius fell down and worshipped him, lifted him up saying, "Stand upon thy feet, I am a man like thyself."—The Pope makes the emperor bow to the ground and worship him;—makes the emperor devoutly kiss his foot, and hold

the stirrup whilst he mounts his horse and seats himself in the saddle!

Peter, in the 2nd Chap. of his 2nd Epistle,—“There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies,—even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction; and many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the truth shall be evil spoken of; and through covetousness shall, with feigned words, make merchandise of you, whose judgment now a long time lingereth not; and their damnation slumbereth not.”

Prices of absolution, taken from “The fees of the Roman Chancery,” published by the Pope’s authority:—

“For a priest or a clergyman keeping a concubine, 2s. 4d.; for laying with a woman in the church, and there committing other enormities, 2s.; for laying violent hands on a priest, without shedding blood, 5s. 8d.; for a layman murdering a layman, 1s. 8d.; for gross and wilful perjury, 2s.; for defiling a virgin, 2s.; for committing incest, 1s. 8d.; for forging the Pope’s hand-writing, 6s.”

It is thus that these false teachers make merchandise of them that they can deceive with their holy water, indulgences, absolutions, holy relics, milk of the blessed virgin, which they pretend has been kept in a bottle near about one thousand eight hundred and sixty years; with a pretended real head of John the Baptist in three different churches at the same time; the flight of saints across the sea; the building of a large church in one night by one of their pretended saints; the extraordinary daily feats of their St. Patrick, whom, during every day, (by the testimony of the Roman Catholic breviary or common prayer book) St. Patrick, when a slave, and had his master’s cattle under his care, used to rise before daylight, under the snows and rains of winter, to commence his usual task of praying—one hundred times in the day and one hundred times in the night.—

When he was made a bishop, we are told that he repeated, every day, one hundred and fifty psalms of the psalter, with a collection of canticles and hymns, and two hundred collects besides. He made it also a duty to kneel three hundred times, and make the sign of the cross eight hundred times. In the night he recited one hundred psalms, and knelt two hundred times,—passed one-third of the time standing up to the chin in cold water, repeating fifty psalms more, and then rested for two or three hours upon a stone pavement.

For a more particular account of the lying wonders of the Romish Church, I beg to refer you to the Protestant Protest against the Roman Catholic Claims, published in 1826, and sold by all the principal booksellers. I beg here to remark, that the Protestant Protest is a work highly worth the examination of every one at the present crisis; particularly the noble and honourable members of the houses of lords and commons,—none of whom ought to vote on the Catholic Question without having carefully read the Protestant Protest against the Catholic Claims.

Now I take leave to ask those who are come here this day to support the claims of the Catholics. Have you informed yourselves as well as ye were able, on this most important, this most vital subject? Or are you come here as a mad faction running headlong upon any measure that may embarrass his Majesty's government? Have you read the Protestant Protest? Have you read the Rev. Dr. Philpot's Letters, in answer to Charles Butler, Esq.?—if you have, you have either forgotten the astounding facts those publications produce against the Catholic Claims, or you are black apostates from the public weal of this nation!

But to return to the absolutions and indulgencies of the Romish Church, St. Jude says in the 8th c. 13 v. of his epistle, "They are raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame! wandering stars! to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever!"

St. Paul says "Antichrist exalts himself above all that is called God or worshipped, (here the word rendered God, or worshipped, means any person or thing which is the object of honour and veneration—as magistrates, kings, &c. whom the apostle teaches should be honoured and obeyed) and says, 'Render honour to whom honour is due!'"

Our blessed Saviour himself paid tribute to Cæsar, though a heathen; and said "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the things which are God's."

But the Popes have arrogated to themselves *all the honours*. The Pope is stiled "Our Lord God the Pope: King of Kings and Lord of Lords," whom emperors must worship, and hold the stirrup of his saddle whilst he puts his foot in. The Pope gives licenses to commit sin at pleasure—with absolution from all sins past, present, and to come. Is not this the man of sin? the beast that sits in the temple of God, making himself more than God? the great whore that sits upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication? Rome, that Babylon, in which was found the blood of the prophets, and of saints, and all that were slain in the earth.

At the time that the Pope was first striving to obtain secular power, a pious bishop of the Romish Church said, "If the Pontiff takes upon himself secular power, he will identify himself The Beast written of in the Revelation," Oh the millions upon millions that the Romish church has persecuted or slain, because they abjured her errors and heresy! Armies were raised by her to extirpate the Waldenses, Albigenses, Hugonots, &c. To those who would become soldiers of persecution, absolution was given, and a promise of a higher place in heaven, if they should die in this Romish holy cause! These poor Christians were persecuted and slain almost to extirpation in some parts, and the remnant that

fled into the wilds were hunted by blood-hounds, trained up for the purpose by hell-hounds.

Reinerus, a Dominican friar and persecutor, who wrote against the Waldenses, speaks of more than seventy ancient heresies, and says of the Waldenses, "That of all the sects that were or had been, the Waldenses were most pernicious; as they were found *in all nations*; and whilst all other heretics were abhorred by reason of their blasphemies, the Waldenses had a great appearance of piety; lived justly before men; believed all things well of God, and believed all the articles of the creed; but they blasphemed the church and clergy of Rome, and the people easily believed them."—(The blood-thirsty hate the upright! Prov. 29 c. 10 v.)—"The Waldenses called the Romish Church 'The whore of Babylon;' and said that "the Pope was the head of all the errors in the Anti-christian church."

It is insisted by the Protestant advocates of the Roman Catholic Claims, "That the Romish Church does not retain the same persecuting character that once attached to it." Let them shew only one instance of its toleration of other sects! Let them shew a single instance of forbearance where that church has power!

Will they bring forward South America, where no other faith is tolerated? Will they produce, as a proof of it, the six hundred that were butchered at Bagota, because they could read and write? Will they instance the King of Sardinia, who only the other day, refused permission to our Minister to build a church for the accommodation of the English and other Protestant residents and visitors in that part? Will they produce the answer of his holiness to the King of the Netherlands in 1816.—"That the Romish religion did not admit of the toleration of any others?" Will they instance the persecution of the Protestants in the South of France so late as the year 1816? Will they instance the twenty and thirty and forty thousands of the Irish, who are

all marshalled for massacre, and thirsting for heretic blood! where, at the present time, Protestants (in some parts) dare not stir out of their dwellings after night fall? Will they produce Spain and Portugal as witnesses for civil and religious liberty, where the Romish clergy have overturned free constitutional governments, so recently! as proof of their attachment to their deceiving watchword? Will they persist in refusing to believe the declaration of the vicar apostolic of the Romish church in England; and the vociferation of O'Connell,—“That the Roman Catholic religion is unchanged and unchangeable?”

I shall quote the Protest of the Rev. Dr. Milner, vicar apostolic, against the four articles of the Gallician church.—Dr. M. was, at the time, or very soon after, the agent and representative of all the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops. The articles of the Gallician church.—Dr. Philpot, p. 306-7.

Article 1.—“That neither St. Peter, nor his successors, have received from God, any power to interfere, either directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority; nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the Church or Roman Pontiff.

2.—“That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which represent the authority of General Councils, as superior to that of the Pope, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallician church.

3.—“That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received by the Gallician church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4.—“That the decisions of the Pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.”

Dr. Milner, who is, by the Roman Catholics, stiled “The faithful expositor of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic

church, and of the facts which are connected with it,"—protests against the four articles of the Gallician church, and declares as follows:—"There is not a single prelate in England or Ireland, who is not *firmly resolved* to reject the *four articles of the Gallician Liberties*; we think we see in these articles, the germe of all the present mischief; and, to be brief, we are determined not to subscribe to the articles."

It is apparent that the Gallician church neither admitted the infallibility of the Pope or the Roman Catholic church. In the progress of a correspondence between the French clergy of the Romish church, and Archbishop Wake, (as appears from a manuscript, the copy of which is still extant among the Wake MSS. in the library of Christ Church, Oxford,) Du Pin drew up a paper entitled "*Commonitorium de modis ineundæ pacis inter Ecclesias Anglicanum et Gallicanam*;"—"That examined separately, the articles of the Protestant church of England, specifying the extent to which agreement with them could be carried by the Gallician church, and that in many important particulars the Gallician church made great concessions, they admitted the Holy scriptures, as being sufficient for salvation, with a slight salvo for tradition, as *not exhibiting new articles of faith; but only illustrating and confirming those contained in Scripture. Justification by faith alone; the fallibility of the church of Rome considered as a particular church, were freely admitted; indulgencies were limited to relaxations of temporal penances in this life; the worship of the cross, relics, and images, was reduced to an external respect, and that not of a religious nature; the invocation of saints seems to have been given up; the fitness of celebrating divine worship, in the vulgar tongue, was not disputed; the communion in both kinds was held indifferent; and in the article of the supremacy of the civil magistrate, some, not inconsiderable, points were conceded. Transubstantiation, (though the doctrine without the name was affirmed) seems to have been retained only as a*

speculative point, without involving the duties of adoring the host, or those other consequences which have made it so justly revolting to all considerate Protestants."

In a letter of Archbishop Wake's, to a correspondent, he remarks,—“There is nothing in our liturgy, except the single rubric, relating to the eucharist, but what they allow of; in theirs, nothing but what may be laid aside: and yet the public offices of the Gallician church be never the worse, or more imperfect for the want of it.”

Still the Archbishop, notwithstanding these advances, was not so sanguine in his expectations, of the durable union of the Gallician and English churches, without the entire exclusion of the papal authority from the church of France! With it, the Archbishop hoped every thing; without it, he despaired of an effectual and lasting union.

This, therefore, was the point to which the Archbishop directed his main efforts, and this he plainly saw could only be accomplished through the co-operation of the court. Some prospect of such a co-operation, at one time, supported his hopes, and encouraged him to continue his endeavours: as the Regent and his ministers shewed themselves favourable; but the artifices of Rome prevailed, and the attraction of a cardinal's hat, offered the infamous Du Bois, extinguished the dawn of Reformation in France, almost as soon as it had arisen.

Du Pinn was one of the principal actors in drawing up the articles of the Gallician church; therefore, it is not surprising that the Pope of England and all the Romish bishops and clergy of England and Ireland, should so stoutly and decidedly protest against the articles of Gallician liberties: which they certainly have done, or at least acquiesced in, by suffering the Rev. Dr. Milner's protest to remain so long without any objection to it, or explanation of their sentiments on the subject of his protest.

This protest of the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic, I think is a full acknowledgment of the infallibility of the Pope

of Rome,—an acquiescence in the Bulls of Popes,—the Decrees of Councils,—and the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church.

Thus, it appears, that the Romish faith and discipline is declared, by the most eminent of the clergy and laity of both England and Ireland, unaltered and unalterable,—notwithstanding the cautious evidence given by the most eminent clergy and laity of that church before the committees of the houses of lords and commons.

In 1816, a Bull was issued by Pope Pius VII. against the dissemination of the Scriptures without notes or comments.

In 1824, a Bull was issued by Pope Leo X. for the same purpose.—The Lord Jesus said, “Search the Scriptures; for these are they which testify of me.” The Bereans were, by St. Paul, called “Noble,” because they searched the Scriptures.

Daniel O’Connel, Esq. only last summer, vociferated the following proclamation in the Popish Parliament, sitting in Dublin:—

“Catholics! be peaceable! The Roman Catholic religion is unchanged and unchangeable! Be peaceable!”

The Irish Papists understand this without note or comment. The English of it is:—

Catholics be peaceable! I know your zeal for the Holy Mother Church burns within you; but the time for shewing it is not yet arrived! Be peaceable! The Roman Catholic religion is unchanged and unchangeable! You shall yet have the pleasure of making heretics blood flow in streams; but be peaceable for the present!

Tyranny over the minds and consciences of men is the sole stay of Popery; strike this prop and down she comes. Hence the Romish church have caused seas of blood to flow, lest this grand support of their church should be shaken; and still to preserve it, Papists will go to any lengths.

The Roman Catholic Canon Law constitutes a declaration of insidious interminable war against Protestant Govern-

ments; an insidious decree of extermination against Protestants; and might justly be considered by a Protestant Government, as complete a warrant to commence open hostilities against the Papal Government, as the conduct of the late French Government, under Napoleon, was for the recommencement of hostilities against France, in 1802, or other acts of Foreign States, which have been the causes of wars, between this country and them.

Is it to be borne, "That Roman Catholics should rise such a clamour against a peaceful interdict of our Protestant Constitution: whilst, this land and its Protestant Inhabitants, and also, Papists who favour them, (and is not the allegiance they profess to hold to our most gracious Monarch, he being a declared heretic, and the loyalty that both English and Irish Catholics profess, if sincere, favouring them,) who have, for hundreds of years, lain under the interdicts and anathemas of their intolerant, persecuting, tyrannical Church?" Let them rise their clamours against the causes of this peaceful and necessary privation that the English Constitution imposes against them, to prevent their obtaining power, to enable them to carry those anathemas and interdicts, which the Romish Church has promulgated against Protestants; into full and direful effect. Until these are abrogated, is it reasonable that the Bill of Rights, the sole guard which now remains for the protection of Protestants against Papists, should be in effect swept out of our statute book?

Let Romanists call to mind the circumstance of Courtizans having, by their intrigues, elected and deposed Popes! Let them read their own celebrated Dr. Doyle, who admits that there have been many impious Popes; and let them shew, that infallibility in either Pope or Church can by possibility exist, when the Canons of that Church have partly emanated from Courtizans or their creatures, impious Popes, and the decrees of intolerant Councils. It is not possible, that further concessions can be made, with prudence or safety,

to Roman Catholics, who are governed by such decrees and Canon Law; let them be annulled and abrogated, by similar authorities to those that promulgated them. Until this is done, Romanists who possess either candour or unprejudiced judgment, must lay their hand upon their mouth; or cease all claim to pretensions of respect for Civil or Religious Liberty.

Before any further privilege can be granted to Roman Catholics, their Church must of necessity, be purged and renovated. The intolerant, bloody, persecuting Canons and Decrees of Councils repealed, by similar authorities to those which decreed them.—This is no more than just and reasonable, and what our peace and safety sternly demand. When the Roman Catholic Church has done this, we will welcome Romanists to all offices in the State.

The Roman Catholic Church was once pure; let her return to her pristine purity; and we will hail her with shouts of joy and gladness.



My friends and fellow-countrymen, we are met here in the cause of *Civil and Religious Liberty*; and I trust we shall acquit ourselves, this day, as honest men, and shew to all the world, that we are the *true* friends of *Civil and Religious Liberty*; that we do not take this *watchword* as a *cloak of deceit*, to inveigle those who love Civil and Religious Liberty, and thereby give British freedom a *deadly wound*.

No doubt many will be surprised at my offering myself to this numerous and respectable Meeting, and will wonder at my boldness; but no one who has a spark of *true Civil and Religious Liberty* in his composition, will deny me that right which is inherent in every Briton.

I am now an old man; but never, until I thought our Civil and Religious Liberties *in danger*, did I offer myself in this

public manner. I seek not applause; I fear not censure; I claim the right that belongs to every Briton; that is, to speak my sentiments publicly on this momentous question. We are all met here as the friends of FREEDOM, let us then shew ourselves *freedom's sons*; not as those who mount the cloak of Civil and Religious Liberty, and, on every occasion of this nature, clearly shew their enmity to their own watchword, by refusing to hear any thing opposed to their own opinions, and drown the voice of the speaker with "*tyrant noise and tumult.*" I request of you, my countrymen, that you will patiently attend to what every one offers for your consideration, and deliberately examine the reasons that have, or may be, offered for and against admitting Papists to power. I earnestly request you will not applaud me,—again I tell you applause is not my object—to *preserve our Civil and Religious Liberties is my sole aim!* No other motive than the glory of God and the good of men could have induced me to quit the path of quiet! I am an obscure individual!—of small account!—a poor man!—not an orator! and never before (though betwixt sixty and seventy years old) have presented myself to public notice; but on this occasion I could not be silent! Our Civil and Religious Liberties are put in jeopardy! Do you not shudder at such a prospect? Are you not shocked by the idea of the danger to which your Protestant religion and civil liberties are exposed? I feel a degree of satisfaction, I cannot express to you, in the knowledge that the whole body of dissenters are not become apostate: there still remains a large portion, (the majority, I should have said) of that church who adhere to the principles of their worthy, pious, and revered fathers.

It appears, to me, strange, that a part of those who were the first originators of societies for the diffusion of Religious Knowledge! who were the founders of Bible Societies! who first shewed their anxiety to impart the pure word of God to all nations of men! should form an alliance with those who

withhold that sacred word from the bulk of the people of their own communion; and who have destroyed hundreds, nay thousands, of bibles and testaments, which dissenters and others have bestowed on the poor for their instruction, consolation, and to promote, under the blessing of the Most High, their and other's salvation, even to the ends of the earth!

But this enlightened age has, in part, become darkened by its light; the "march of intellect" appears to have out-marched itself, particularly amongst those who call themselves *liberals*.

Do not I behold, upon the north side of the hustings, some who have gone so far as, from the pulpit, to persuade their flocks to assist in promoting idolaters to places of trust, honour, and power? who are desirous of introducing those who are sworn to abhor and exterminate heretics, and to destroy all heretical books, into the legislature of this kingdom—to assist in making laws for the protection of heretics, and the religion of heretics?

If I should further ask you if you see one there, who, a few short years since, from his pulpit, could say to his auditors, "Nothing but the conviction of my duty, and the anticipation of your benevolence, could induce me to refer to the shocking barbarities that have been recently inflicted on our Protestant brethren, in the Southern parts of France. France has set an example that would have disgraced the darkest ages, and blackened the fiercest times. Methink I see a group of wanderers hasten to the strand, behind them is the infuriate rabble, pursuing them as on a new scent of blood. Their horrid vociferations are distinctly heard. But they have lost their prey—and in hopes of booty they return. But these poor wretches, though saved for the moment, have the most painful alternative to decide. Emigration seems their only escape. They have nothing left of their possessions and delights. Their friends are slain,—their houses fired,—their temples destroyed;"—and tell you that the same person has come here under the specious pretext of

extending Civil and Religious Liberty, by endeavouring to introduce into parliament those of that faith who could persecute and inflict such barbarities! you would, at once, ask, "Can the same fountain send forth sweet water and bitter? can the same mouth breathe hot and cold?" If I were to assert, that there is one on this platform, who, very recently, visited the Popish Parliament in Dublin, (perhaps under the hope of obtaining a promise of being appointed professor of metaphysics in the Jesuit College, which, of course, will be established at Leeds when Papists get into parliament) would you not think it strange? If I were to say I have seen on these hustings some of the promoters and abettors of the disgraceful and tumultuous scenes that have been exhibited in our Parish Church! could you believe me? —If I were to say, that at a late Religious Tract Meeting, held in the Music-Hall, I heard and saw a Rev. Gentleman, (who has declared, that if he were worth £100,000, he would spend the whole of it, to obtain a seat in Parliament,) exhibit himself in tone, matter, and manner, more like a buffoon, on the stage of a mountebank, or a cryer, at the door of a puppet show, than a Minister of the Gospel! would you not expect to see him here, it being apparent that he delights to shew himself in public? If I were to ask, if you could see one here, who professes himself the advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty; who could seditiously hold up our Gracious Monarch, to the scorn and derision of the disloyal, by ridiculing his mode of address to his Irish and Hanoverian subjects, on his visit to Ireland and Hanover, when our Gracious Sovereign said, "I am a good Irishman, I am a good Hanoverian!" if the King had told them, he was a good Catholic! probably his wisdom might have been applauded by such a pretending disciple of liberty, who shewed his respect for the prerogatives of our most Gracious Monarch, the laws of his country, and his love of Civil and Religious Liberty, by ridiculing and blaming our King, when he

called to his councils, men (who had won for themselves, the highest honours and titles at home and abroad; or had, by their devotedness to the internal interests of the country, arrested the admiration of mankind;) whom this pretended disciple of Civil and Religious Liberty had previously derided and abused, for exercising the liberty that every Briton is born to. Who could incite the Luddites, by his pretended sympathy, in their privations and sufferings, to acts which brought many of those unfortunates to an ignominious death? Who, when the unfortunate rioters in an adjacent county, were pacified by Government letting out the bonded corn, to prevent a rise in the price of this necessary of life, could have the heartlessness, immediately to shew them, that the letting out of the bonded grain by which their anguished hearts were consoled, was provision only for *eight days*! Who has during a series of years, assailed almost every person, measure, or thing, that is praiseworthy,—

“With tinsel'd Censure and as futile Scorn!”

Who has for a length of time pursued a conduct, in accordance only with discord, dissention, and deceit; who, like a true Pat. Riot. has, during a period of more than twenty years, exalted a minor faction into the great majority of the wealth and talents of this country; and who during all that time, has scarcely given one solitary unqualified approval of any measure of a Government, that has, under the blessing of Divine Providence raised this Kingdom high in the scale of Nations? Who has held up (to the admiration of those who could admire a man, who brought this nation into the dread of the most disastrous consequences,) the mutinous Admiral Parker, as a most extraordinary man! Who could hold up the Assassin Bellingham, to the sympathy of mankind, by commiserating his disappointments, and extolling his greatness of mind? Would you not think me in a state of delirium? If I were to ask you if such a character as I have

alluded to, were a fit organ for the friends of Civil and Religious Liberty? you would reply,—If it were so, they are gratified by the music of dissention and discord; pleased by the anticipation of riot and ruin! If I were to ask you if you thought it possible that any one could, by attending a Radical Meeting on Hunslet Moor, attain so much medical knowledge as to be able, eight or nine years after, by only reading a letter on Catholic Emancipation, to pronounce the writer as having been attacked by a fit of ague? you would reply,—That, if it were possible, it would prove that the Physician remembered well, the effects of his visiting a Radical Meeting!

But, my friends, you may see, on these hustings, men whose characters for honour, generosity, and piety, forbid you to think that they are come here to deceive or cajole you; but their object seems so questionable, that you cannot but conclude that they are either greatly mistaken in their views, or are themselves cajoled and deceived.

If, at any future time, a Meeting should be got up by such a heterogeneous compound of characters as I have alluded to, you will, I am sure, be prepared to treat any measures, such a combination might propose, as emanating from the father of lies alone!

From the time that the Requisition, for the calling of this Meeting, appeared, I have not ceased, from day to day, to supplicate the Most High to convince me of it, if I am under erroneous impressions; and, on the contrary, to strengthen and confirm me in my opinion, if it is in accordance with his will! I have, from day to day, found myself more confirmed and strengthened, and feel a full assurance that I am doing the will of God.

My friends, my heart is pained within me, by witnessing those whom I believe incapable of any evil act, engaged in abetting the cause of those who, from remote ages to the present time, have proved that they are intolerant, cruel,

tyrannical, and bloodthirsty. What must I think? I can only, in the words of our Blessed Saviour, cry out,—“Father, forgive them; they know not what they do!”

Oh my friends! my dear countrymen! be not deceived with such shameless hypocrisy! the cry of Civil and Religious Liberty, is but a cloak! under the shade of which, its pretended disciples, who are in the constant habit of using it to deceive, mean to rob you of your Civil and Religious Liberty. It has ever been the practice of its enemies to take it for their watchword, when they meditated its subversion! its downfall! If these pretenders wished to preserve it, would they attempt to introduce a foot of intolerance, cruelty, persecution, and tyranny, into the councils of this nation?—Would they attempt to plant, both the roots and branches of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, persecution, and bloodshed, in the legislatures of a free country?

Ah, my friends! weigh well all the arguments offered both for and against the admission of Papists into Parliament.—Popery is founded upon tyranny! and without the aid of tyranny, she cannot exist! She, of all other faiths, is most anxious to aggrandize herself! Will she, think you, give up using her only powerful weapon?

See the acts of Popery in Spain and Portugal, both which are suffering at present, such miseries, under the tyranny of Popery, as I pray God to preserve you and your children from, to the latest generations.

The people of Spain fought for their liberty, and conquered! When they had expelled the invaders, they wished to raise a bulwark against the enemies of Civil and Religious Liberty; they established a Free Constitutional Government! Their King swore to maintain that Free Constitutional Government, and administer the laws according to its provisions! But what are oaths, when opposed to the tyranny of Popery?—(See the Roman Canon Law.)—The Priests who refuse absolution to all who will not be governed by them:

and assure everlasting happiness to all who will; absolved the King of Spain from the oath he had taken to his subjects, to support and maintain that free Constitution which his faithful subjects had unanimously adopted, whilst their King was imprisoned by Buonaparte, who entrapped him, by the pretext of holding a conference with him on the frontiers of France; and placed his brother Joseph upon the throne of Spain. Ferdinand's faithful, loyal, brave subjects, drove the usurper from the throne of Spain, and secured it for their hereditary monarch, by an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure. Ferdinand thought his brave, loyal subjects, well deserved to be secured in the enjoyment of the liberty they had won for themselves and him, freely took his oath to support, maintain, and rule according to the free constitutional code which his faithful subjects had unanimously formed and adopted, when left to themselves, and without a king: but freedom is the canker-worm of Popery! freedom had laid the axe to the root of the tree of tyranny and superstition! The Holy Roman Catholic Church felt her foundations tremble; and well knew that she must overturn liberty, or liberty would annihilate her much more rapidly than tyranny exalted her: all her wiles and deceits were brought into action, and she prevailed upon the wicked Ferdinand to forfeit his integrity! Ferdinand and priestcraft re-established tyranny and the Holy Inquisition,—these alone being fitted to secure the integrity of the Holy Mother Church, and the reign of tyranny she has so long usurped over the lives and consciences of men. The patriots who had won liberty and their country at once, were by these tyrants proscribed, butchered,—their properties confiscated, and the remnant, who escaped to this land of liberty, are mostly supported by the charity of free-born Britons! What think you my friends of Popish Legislation?

Portugal is now writhing under similar miseries, inflicted by this Holy Mother of Hell. You perhaps may wish to

know what this holy thing is—by this Holy Mother—called the Holy Inquisition. My friends, it is most difficult to inform you clearly what this holy thing is. From all I have been able to learn of it, it is secret, cruel, crafty as Satan,—its acts are deeds of darkness, carefully hidden from the ken of man,—or all the Popes that ever existed, were they now living, would not be able to continue it openly, even in the sight of their poor, ignorant, enslaved votaries.

If I were able to summon all the black, descriptive phrases of every language, I think I could not describe it more appropriately than I will endeavour to do by only four syllables :—*hell upon earth!* Yes, hell upon earth, my friends! for if all the devils and imps in the bottomless pit sat in council with Papists, to invent a hell upon earth, this Popish holy thing is that hell.

The Holy Inquisitors are most, if not all of them, selected from that goodly school, the order of the Jesuits; which has produced most of the eminent plotters and assassins that have figured so conspicuously in all nations.—It was a Jesuit who assassinated Henry III. of France, because he objected to the worship of images!—It was a Jesuit who assassinated Henry IV. of France, because he favoured the Hugonots!

The Roman Catholics of the present day affect to deny the worship of images, though only a few short months since a Romish priest, who challenged the Revd. Mr. *Pope*, (a curious coincidence) a dissenting minister, to a controversy in the Rotunda, in Dublin: in support of image worship. The priest quoted a text from the Douay version of the Old Testament, viz. “That Abraham worshipped the top of his staff.” This translation was doubtless given to favour idolatry. The Protestant version of the Old Testament renders it, “Abraham worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff.”

Ever since the order of the Jesuits was established, they have, by their conduct in every country, proved themselves proficient in treachery, cruelty, murder, and irreligion; and

the name of Jesuit is so well appreciated, that even the young and ignorant use it as a term of opprobrium, that has been immemorially chosen as a mark of reproach, and handed down from generation to generation! Jesuits have, ever since the establishment of the order, been the sappers and miners to assist in the dark designs and aggrandizement of Popery, and in upholding the tyranny and superstition of their Holy Mother Church.

I have before observed, that those who meditate mischief, generally take for their motto, a term which is the direct reverse of the objects they contemplate. Thus, this Holy Order took upon itself, the title of the Order of Jesus; whose coming was ushered in, by the voices of Angels, singing "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men!" But this cruel, crafty, impious, bloody Order, so outraged all peace and order, that Pope Clement XIV. was compelled to suppress it, by issuing the following Bull, "The Bull of Pope Clement XIV. suppressing the Order of Jesus." "We have omitted no care, no pains, to arrive at the thorough knowledge of the progress and actual state of that Order; and find that accusations of the gravest nature, and very detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of the christian commonwealth, have been continually received against it. We have seen, in the grief our hearts, that neither these remedies, by former Popes, nor an infinity of others, since employed, have produced their due effect. Discords, dissensions, scandals, which weakening, or entirely destroying the bonds of christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party hatred and enmity. Desolation and danger grew to such a height, that the very Sovereigns themselves, whose piety and liberality towards the company, were looked on as hereditary—were compelled to drive them from their states. Persuaded that there remained no other remedy to so great evils, and that this step was necessary, in order to prevent christians from rising one against another,

and from massacreing each other, in the very bosom of our common Mother,—the Holy Mother,—the Holy Church; the said, our dear Sons in Jesus Christ, having since considered that even this remedy would not be sufficient towards reconciling the whole christian world, unless the said society was absolutely suppressed, made known their demands to our predecessor, Clement XIII. They united their common prayers and authority to obtain, that this last method should be put in practice, as the only one capable of assuring the constant repose of their subjects, and the Catholic Church in general. Actuated by so many important considerations, which obliges us to conciliate, maintain, and confirm, the peace and tranquillity of the christian commonwealth, and remove every obstacle that may tend to trouble it, having further considered, &c. ‘that it was very difficult, not to say, impossible, that the Church should recover a firm and durable peace, so long as the society subsisted.’ After mature deliberation, ‘we do, &c. suppress and abolish the said company, we deprive it of all activity, whatsoever, of its houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, lands,’ &c. further, we desire, that if any should be desirous of dedicating themselves to the instruction of youth, in any college or school, care be taken, that they have no part in the government or direction of the same; in fact, the faculty of teaching youth, shall neither be granted nor preserved, but to those who seem inclined to maintain peace in schools, and tranquillity in the world.” This character given of the Order of the Jesuits, by the Holy Pontiff himself, renders further description of them almost unnecessary; but notwithstanding, I shall feel it my duty to advert to many circumstances of their conduct. After having heard the description of the conduct of Jesuits, by the Head of the Roman Catholic Church, can you believe that there is in the dominions of George IV.—in this soil of Liberty,—such a damnable pest, as a College of Jesuits; I hear you say, if there be, there is already, far too much liberty given to

Papists. Yes my friends, the Papists do enjoy far too much liberty, to admit of peace and unity in this land,—they enjoy infinitely more liberty than Protestants are allowed in any Popish country,—they enjoy more liberty than even Catholics enjoy in Catholic countries: yet they are dissatisfied, and ever will remain so, unless they can have a Popish King, a Popish Government, and Popish Power, to persecute and exterminate Protestants and Protestantism from this nation. In what Catholic state, would Catholics dare to act as they act in this country? But my friends, I tell you that there are Colleges of this infernal Order both in England and Ireland.

It grieves me to the heart!—I am irresistibly convinced! that there are in this assembly, those who would run any, nay, the greatest risques, for the sake of embarrassing the Government of this country. I, from my heart, can say of the promoters of this Meeting, as that sincere christian (Mr. Wilberforce) said in the House of Commons, on the conduct of the late Mr. Fox, (whose memory these pretenders to Civil and Religious Liberty revere,) “I will not say that the Hon. Gentleman would rejoice at the ruin of the country, but I do say, that I believe that there is no disaster that could befall this nation, short of its ruin, that should bring Ministers into disgrace, that the Hon. Gentleman would not rejoice at.”

So, say I, of the Gentlemen who have, in the names of Civil and Religious Liberty, this day moved an Address which they call a Loyal (can any truly loyal sentiment proceed from this party?) Address to His Majesty, recommending Catholic Emancipation!—unconditional liberty to her bitterest enemies!

Merciful God! Is it possible this soil of liberty should produce such? Is it possible that there should be in this assembly, men (did I say men? they are not worthy the name) who can forget what their fathers have done and suffered, to establish that Protestant Constitution, which they

are seeking this day to destroy? That Protestant Constitution which, under the auspices of heaven, has raised this nation as the Beacon of Liberty to the whole world. How can men who know that Papists have given the death wound to Constitutional Liberty, both in Spain and Portugal,—that Papists are intolerant, cruel, tyrannical, and blood-thirsty; who know that the Church of Rome has waded through seas of blood; has immolated on the altar of superstition and cruelty, millions upon millions, for no other reason than that their victims were the true disciples of Civil and Religious Liberty; who know that Papists only a short time before the glorious Revolution, butchered between two and three hundred thousand Protestants in Ireland, besides those they sacrificed in England during the same period; who know that Papists meditated, and attempted to consummate, the diabolical design of blowing up King, Lords, and Commons, together with one half of Westminster, and at least thirty thousand of its inhabitants, at one direful explosion; who know that Papists murdered considerably more than one hundred thousand Protestants in Ireland so late as 1798, and in 1803 meditated their extermination; who know that they are whetting their swords to destroy all the Protestant population of Ireland; who have besides unquestionable evidence from early periods up to the present day, and might have heard O'Connell bellow from the Popish Parliament in Dublin, that "The Catholic Religion is unchanged and unchangeable:"—and are so reckless of the consequences, as to move or vote such Address to the Throne?

In 1814, August 9, Pope Pius VII., (of cursed memory,) finding that the throne of tyranny had been shaken by Buonaparte, who made a puppet of a former Pope, and shewed himself as infallible and more powerful than any Pope, by which the power, tyranny, and infallibility of the Roman Pontiff was so much impaired, that he deemed it necessary

to issue his Bull for the restoration of the Jesuits, that he might have the aid of that crafty and indefatigable crew.* This Bull of restoration was scarcely issued before a College of Jesuits was established at Castle Brown, in Ireland. This College was fully established in 1814, though the Bull, restoring the order, was dated at Rome so far on in the same year as 9th August; by which it manifestly appears that provision had been made for its formation, before the Bull for its restoration was issued,—no doubt at the request of the Catholic Board, who wanted all aid of Pope, Sappers, Miners, &c. &c. These sappers and miners of peace and liberty, commenced their labours with their accustomed zeal and activity. The Romish hierarchy of Ireland redoubled their diligence; and, in 1816, published a corrected edition of the Rhemish Testament, with additional notes, in furtherance of the interest and aggrandizement of the Holy Mother Church, and her faithful children.—The following notes are quoted from this new engine of Popery:—

NOTE on Acts chap. 28, v. 22, “The Church of God, calling the Protestant doctrine heresy in the worst sort that ever was, doth rightly and justly.”

NOTE on Luke ch. 9, v. 55, “As the act of Elias was not reprehended, neither is the Church, nor Christian Princes, blamed by God, for putting heretics to death.”

NOTE on Heb. ch. 5, v. 7, “The translators of the English Protestant Bible should be abhorred to the depths of hell.”

NOTE on Matthew ch. 3, “The good must tolerate the evil, when it is so strong, that it cannot be redressed without danger or disturbance of the whole Church, otherwise, where evil men, be they heretics or other malefactors, may be punished and suppressed without hazard of the good, they may and ought by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, be chastised or executed.”

NOTE on John ch. 10, v. 1, Heb. ch. 5, v. 1, “All Pro-

* See Protestant Protest for a History of the Jesuits p. 198, 206.

testant clergy are thieves, murderers, and ministers of the devil,—leaders of rebellion against the lawful authority of the Catholic priests—they are engaged in a damnable revolt against the Priests of God's Church, which is the bane of our days and country.

NOTE on Mark ch. 3, v. 12, "As the devil, acknowledging the Son of God, was bid hold his peace; therefore, neither heretics' sermons must be heard,—no, not though they preach the truth. Their prayers and services, though ever so good in themselves, are, out of their mouths, no better than the howling of wolves."

NOTE on Acts ch. 10, v. 9, "The Church Service in England, being in heresy and schism, is not only unprofitable, but damnable."

NOTE on Rev. ch. 11, v. 6, 10, "Christian people, Bishops especially, should have great zeal against heretics, of whatsoever name, after the example of holy Elias,—that, in zeal, killed four hundred and fifty false prophets."

NOTE on Acts ch. 19, v. 19, "A Christian should deface and burn all heretical books."

NOTE on Acts, ch. 25, v. 2, "If St. Paul appealed to Cæsar, not yet christened, how much more may we call for the aid of Christian Princes, for the punishment of heretics."

NOTE on Heb. ch. 13, v. 17, Rev. ch. 17, v. 6, "When Rome puts heretics to death, and allows their punishment in other countries, their blood is not that of saints, nor is it to be any more accounted of than that of thieves, mankillers, or other malefactors."

NOTE on John ch. 15, v. 7, "The prayer of a Protestant *cannot* be heard in heaven."

NOTE on 1st Thessalonians ch. 2, v. 13, "The adversaries, (heretics,) will have no word of God, but what is written and contained in the Scripture; but here they may learn, that whatsoever the lawful Pastors teach in the unity of the same Church, is to be taken for God's own word."

In 1818 a Superior arrived in Ireland from the Continent, to conduct the College at Castle Brown, according to the plan of such Continental Colleges; emissaries were dispatched through Ireland to circulate Pastorini's prophecies, which predicted the total overthrow of Protestantism, and the exaltation of Popery on its ruins in 1825! The peasantry were taught that the King of Sardinia,* who is a Papist, is the lawful heir to the crown of the British Isles! The Catholic Association was hatched, and has been nurtured up into a Parliament! Taxes imposed! The Catholic priests encourage their deluded people to pay the rent punctually!—reminding them that money is the sinews of war! The unfortunate, deluded, oppressed peasantry, are marshalled in military order, and marched out in armies of twenty, thirty, and forty thousand! to shew their physical strength, on which they have bullied and boasted so much! The Jesuits have also lay brethren as gardeners, taylors, barbers, shoemakers, &c., who, as they become proficient, are settled in such situations as the superior and directors deem most eligible, to prepare the minds of the peasantry, &c. for the projects they contemplate! Their places are supplied by novices who have been previously marked as suitable subjects to further their designs when properly instructed: and as these sappers and miners are never idle, doubtless they have, during the fourteen years they have been at work, arranged their plans, and means of carrying them into effect, in such a way as to render it *indispensable* for all Protestants, *Government and People, to be on the alert, or something serious will unexpectedly burst forth!* They only want *seventy or eighty Jesuits, or tools of Jesuits, placing in Parliament, and their plans will be completed:* and there is little doubt of their accomplishing this, if their present demands are complied with.

* At a Fancy Ball, at York, during the late Festival, a Roman Catholic of some distinction, appeared in the uniform of a Sardinian officer.

Think seriously, my dear countrymen, what you are called upon to do this day; *you are about to put the finishing stroke to Jesuit policy, or to blast their projects by refusing their admission to Parliament.*

I court not any one; I would not compel one vote this day if it were in my power. I take freedom of conscience, and I allow freedom of conscience. Let every one go to heaven his own way. Liberty! freedom! is my motto. If a man errs, I pity him: if a man is of my opinion, and will not be biassed either by hopes, fears, threats, or promises, I love him. No; I will not hold out the lure of deceit to persuade any one. I now say to you all, "Vote as your consciences dictate. Truth is set before you. I have shewn you the truth—the whole truth, so far as I am able. Examine it; if you are satisfied of it, let no man persuade you; let not hopes, fears, smiles or frowns, warp you from the path of independence. It is only now and then you have the opportunity of asserting your independence, in a matter of such mighty importance as this day's decision: on it hangs the fate of England's liberty!"—

"England expects every man will do his duty!"

I declare before God and this assembly that I have offered nothing for your consideration, the truth of which I am not firmly convinced myself. If it were in my *power* I would not beguile you with flowery language: my language has ever been, and with God's help, ever shall be, that of sincerity and truth. If I had this day a factory as large as some have, who have sent their people here, I would turn them out; but I would not attempt to influence their votes; I would say, "Go, and listen attentively, especially to facts; weigh well the reasons offered for your guidance, and vote as your consciences dictate. You may hear lofty language—insinuating, smooth words,—if you do, beware; be not deceived; deceit has most times a smooth, oily surface; examine well what you hear; let no one deceive you with smooth words; *truth*

seeks no disguise,—it has little need of polish, if it be rough and plain, still it is bright. Therefore, when you lift up your hands, let them be raised in the cause of freedom and truth, and God will bless you.

To shield the Protestant sons and daughters of Erin, from the cruel effects of Popish superstition and tyranny! let Protestant Britain pledge herself to avenge the wrongs which Irish Protestants may suffer at the hands of Roman Catholics!

Is it possible, that our most Gracious Monarch can assent to the claims of Roman Catholics? Bearing in memory, as he ever must, his Coronation Oath! The declaration of 30 Charles II. which he at the same time made, as prescribed by the Constitution! “disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.” And also, the Protestant Act of Settlement of William III. of blessed memory, which happily placed and provided for the continuance of the Reign of his Illustrious House, being Protestant, on the Throne of these Realms.

Then let all who are loyally anxious, (and surely every truly loyal Protestant must be) to perpetuate the Reign of the Illustrious House of Hanover in this Protestant country!

As one man! Petition our most Gracious Monarch!

Who is “The sacred Royal Depository and Guardian!—

“Of our Protestant Constitution!

“Of our Protestant Religion!

“Of our Protestant Rights!

“Of our Protestant Liberty!”

That whatever may be the conduct of the Two Houses of Parliament,—He will firmly and constitutionally *contemn and subvert* (as his late Royal Parent* did) every attempt,

* Our late beloved King, when one of his Ministers was importuning him upon Catholic Concession, replied,—“Mr. Dundas, none of your Scotch metaphysics, I could retire to a cottage, or lay my neck upon a block, for the good of my People; but I cannot violate the solemn obligation I undertook on my Coronation.”

that may be made to grant *any further Political Power to Roman Catholics*. Assuring our most Gracious Sovereign, that his loyal Protestant subjects will stand by, and *uphold him in the full and free enjoyment of his Royal Rights* (as his late Royal Father was religiously assured they would) *to the last drop of their blood*.

At the late Popish Meeting held here, the usual means resorted to by the disloyal, were, if possible, more apparent than on any former occasion. The Catholic population of Leeds is upwards of six thousand; on the morning of the Meeting they were summoned by beat of drum. The Catholics from Barnsley, a distance of eighteen miles, were sent for. Catholics from York attended the Meeting, a distance of twenty-four miles. Many are employed at Bradford, only ten miles; at Wetherby, which is only twelve miles; there are many Catholic inhabitants at Tadcaster also, which is fifteen miles from Leeds; in the intermediate parts there are many Catholic inhabitants. So that when I state that there were at least three thousand Catholics at the Meeting, the most captious will scarce venture do dispute the statement. There were also, brought to the Meeting, the workmen of six large factories, besides many from minor establishments, so that upon the whole there could not be fewer than three thousand Catholics; and those brought by Pro-Catholic employers must have amounted to two thousand or upwards; making an aggregate amounting nearly to as many as voted on the part of the friends of Popery. And as the Chairman declared that he could not decide, the numbers being so nearly equal, it is left to the PUBLIC to judge what must be the unprejudiced sense of the Meeting.

THE END.



